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Defense Ministry Announces Troop Cuts in Hungary

LD2112182489 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 21 Dec 89

["Report by USSR Defence Ministry"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—In compliance with a previously taken decision on further cuts in Soviet Armed Forces temporarily stationed in Hungary, the Soviet Union will withdraw several units in 1990, including an Air Force regiment, a motorised rifle regiment, two tank battalions and other units.

All in all, the USSR will withdraw 6,000 troops, over 40 jets, 120 tanks, some 180 pieces of armour and over 400 trucks.

Hungarian Defense Minister's Announcement

LD2112185289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati has announced further Soviet troop withdrawals.

After the December session of the National Assembly concluded, the Foreign Affairs and the Defense Committee held a joint session in the Legislature Building. At this session Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati announced that next year a tactical missile brigade [harcaszati raketa dandar], a regiment of fighter bombers, a motorized rifle regiment [gepesitett loevesz ezred], two tank battalions, and two construction units will be withdrawn from our country. In the framework of the troop withdrawal agreement which was announced at the beginning of the year, an airborne assault battalion will also leave our country.

Conventional Arms Talks Results Examined

Delegation Member Comments

LD2512103289 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy:

"The major positive outcome of the fourth round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces is that the two sides, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) have tabled their drafts of a treaty on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe," Major General Viktor Tatarnikov, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks and a spokesman for the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, told TASS today in connection with the completion of the fourth round of the talks.

Despite a number of differences, the WTO and NATO drafts are similar as regards matters concerning a structure, format and scope of the future agreement, he said. "This opens up a new scope for productive work at the talks," Tatarnikov emphasised.

At the same time, he said, the Vienna talks have obviously lost dynamism of late. He believes that the working groups have failed to come to terms on definitions of such armaments as tanks, combat armoured vehicles, and helicopters.

The general holds that without elaborating clear-cut definitions of these groups of armaments it will be subsequently rather difficult to conduct substantive talks on weapon levels, a verification system and measures for the elimination of weapons.

Turning to prospects for the conclusion of an agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe in 1990, the general said that the Soviet Union is ready for this already now.

But mutual efforts of the sides will be needed to accomplish this task, he added.

"An opportunity to look for solutions to unresolved problems will arise only along the road of mutual concessions," Tatarnikov said.

'Less Dynamic' Talks Seen

LD2612162189 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The fourth round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe has ended in Vienna. Six months ago practically all the parties to these negotiations agreed to draw up the first agreement already in 1990. Do the results of the current round show that practical steps have been taken towards this end?

The fact that both the West and the East have submitted their draft agreements on conventional armaments and that both documents are similar in structure and form is obviously a positive development. The sides were also able to make progress in the discussion of several working texts related to exchanges of information and verification.

However, their stand on several fundamental aspects of the future treaty have not changed. This October the Warsaw Treaty nations put forth several compromise proposals that could have paved the way to an agreement on the principal directions of the document, if an adequate Western reply was received.

But the NATO states gave no such answer. They continued to cling to the positions they had outlined during the previous rounds. This is why working groups were unable, for instance, to specify exactly the armaments that should be reduced, although it was possible to reach agreement on tanks, armoured cars and helicopters.

Specifications are a very important problem. No serious negotiations on the levels of armaments, control systems and measures to liquidate weapons are possible without its solution. The "price" of their misinterpretation can be seen from the following example: acceptance of the Western proposal to exclude light tanks and heavily armed combat vehicles from the "tank" category would allow NATO to increase legally the number of its light tanks from two to fourteen thousand units.

This "double standard", ensuring the West's superiority, can be perceived also in NATO's stand on the reduction of aircraft and of the personnel of armed forces. For instance, when discussing the reduction of troops deployed outside national territories in Europe, the West insists that cuts should affect only Soviet and American troops. The socialist states are not opposed to these cuts, but at the same time they want the British, French, Belgian, Dutch and Canadian troops on FRG territory, numbering 160,000 men, to be reduced as well. However, no positive answer has yet been received to their proposal.

We regret to say that the Vienna talks have become less dynamic, although the need to accelerate them seems obvious to everybody. We believe that the following conclusion can be drawn from the positions at the Vienna talks: The Western side should finally realise the simple truth that there must be a desire to meet the other side halfway in order to conclude a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe in 1990.

U.S. Army Seen Organized for 'Gunboat Diplomacy'

LD2212190689 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The United States military action in Panama apparently reflects elements of the U.S. Army reorganisation now being discussed in the Pentagon.

As acknowledged by Pentagon strategists, the composition, structure and weaponry of the U.S. Army were adapted to possible military operations in Europe. The main accent has been put on tanks and other heavy hardware. But now even the U.S. Defence Ministry is compelled to admit that the country must now reckon with Soviet Union's and Warsaw Treaty nations' military budget cuts and correspondingly deminishing military menace.

Therefore, the army's main post-war role is called in question. The brass-hats have to decide how such forces should now be used. They want the army to remain the pivot of military planning.

Hence, the idea to turn the army into a lighter, more flexible force that could be rushed promptly to "seats of tension" in any part of the world. It is planned to alter the army structure so that ground troops will be the core of rapid deployment forces. The main accent in the army will be on airborne divisions and light infantry units.

This means that the existing U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces and Marines are to be reinforced by an entire army reorganised on rapid deployment lines and trained to handle "crises abroad", to fight not only in the central belt, but in jungles and deserts too.

The political goal of these plans is absolutely obvious. It is to expand the range of U.S. interventionist forces, to breathe new life into "gunboat diplomacy". The Pentagon is eager to give the U.S. Administration a chance to deal with everybody from "positions of strength", to use armed force in every part of the world, and to dictate its terms everywhere and to everyone. The Panama events now confirm that all Washington official statements about its desire to settle conflicts by political means are simply propaganda phraseology.

President Kennedy claimed that the United States should have enough troops and armaments to wage two large-scale and one minor war (the strategy of "two and half wars"). The Vietnam war showed this strategy was wishful thinking. President Nixon reduced it to "one and a half wars". President Reagan began to build up U.S. armed forces in 1981, but he did not indicate the number of wars for which the U.S. Armed Forces were being prepared.

For how many minor wars is the Pentagon preparing under President Bush?

Perfilyev Conducts 26 Dec News Briefing

Ceausescu Execution

LD2612164189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 26 Dec (TASS)—At a briefing today, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, described the execution of Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, as "Romania's internal affair." Presumably, indicated the Soviet diplomat, the decision of the military tribunal "was made with regard to the expression of the Romanian people's will."

The representative of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the journalists of a report by the National Salvation Front (NSF) about the appointment of Ion Iliescu as chairman of the Council. Dumitru Mazilu was appointed first deputy chairman. An NSF decree has been published, about Petre Roman being appointed caretaker head of government (prime minister) until elections are held. The same decree confirms Nicolae Militaru's appointment as Romania's defense minister.

Vadim Perfilyev reported that on Monday [25 December] evening Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania, arrived in Bucharest.

Soviet Citizens Returning From Romania

LD2612165189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] At 1130 this morning, the train carrying families and employees of Soviet establishments that are being evacuated from Bucharest left Kishinev for Moscow. It will arrive in the USSR capital tomorrow at approximately 1000-1100 Moscow time, at Kievskiy railway station. This was reported at a briefing today by a USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative. Medical checks were carried out in the Moldavian capital on 330 Soviet citizens who had come from Romania. There are no sick or wounded. Despite all the delays on the road from Bucharest to the homeland, the passengers on the train are feeling normal.

Brazilian Elections

LD2612203289 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—Speaking at a briefing here today, Vadim Perfiliev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, described the shooting of Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena as "Romania's internal affair". He pointed out that the decision of the military tribunal "seems to have taken into consideration the desire expressed by the Romanian people".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told journalists about a report of the Council of the National Salvation Front on the appointment of Ion Iliescu chairman of the council. Dumitru Mazilu was appointed first deptuty chairman. A decree of the National Salvation Front was published on the appointment of Petre Roman provisional head of government (prime minister) before the holding of elections. It also confirmed the appointment of Nicolae Militaru defence minister of Romania.

The holding of direct presidential elections in Brazil for the first time in 30 years shows that the democratic rejuvenation in the country has become stable and that it reflects an overall trend of positive changes in this sphere taking place in Latin America. This is how the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the official results of the second round of the presidential elections showing that Fernando Collor de Melo, leader of the National Reconstruction Party, was elected president of Brazil.

Perfiliev stressed that the Soviet Union wished success to the new leaders of Brazil and expressed hope that Soviet-Brazilian relations would further develop in the spirit of constructive continuity in the interests of peoples of the two countries, of the strengthening of peace and international security.

Touching upon the reaction of non-aligned countries to the U.S. armed action in Panama, Perfiliev said that, in the opinion of those countries, it was at variance with the U.N. Charter and the standards of international law, that it constituted a gross violation of rights of a sovereign country, member of the United Nations organisation and the Non-aligned Movement, and a manifestation of old power politics running counter to the present- day atmosphere. "Of course, one cannot help agreeing with this approach," he stressed.

The briefing was attended by Sergey Ordzhonikidze, deputy head of the International Legal Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He commented on a TASS report from Panama saying that an officer of the second battalion of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division had announced that he had been given an order to continue to block the building of the Cuban Embassy and to arrest any Cuban diplomat trying to leave the residence.

The actions of U.S. troops against the Cuban Embassy in Panama are a gross violation of the generally recognized standards of international law, he said. Ordzhonikidze stressed that international legal documents provided for the inviolability of diplomatic missions and the immunity of their personnel even in the case of an armed conflict.

Perfilyev 22 Dec Remark on Events in Romania

LD2212151989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—Answering correspondents' questions in connection with events in Romania, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said the following:

We do not doubt that the Romanian people will display sufficient wisdom, maintaining calm and stability, in spite of the dramatic events, and that conditions will be created for normal life and new institutions of power formed in normal conditions.

UN Representative Views Romanian Events

LD2312100589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0428 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpts] New York, 23 Dec (TASS)—The FRG has appealed to the UN Security Council to postpone consideration of the situation in Romania. [Passage omitted: The FRG does not give any reason for its request]

Answering the questions of the journalists accredited to the United Nations with regard to the USSR position on events in Romania, A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative at the United Nations, said: We welcome the development of events in Romania. As far as we understand, new political thinking finally has arrived in that country. The Congress of the People's Deputies officially sent a message to the people of Romania. Of course, we are anxious at the reports coming from Romania about continuing bloodshed. However, we have faith in the wisdom of the Romanian people and that they will manage to settle the present differences in a peaceful way and will create conditions for the formation of new institutions of power. On behalf of the Congress of the People's Deputies, a statement was made on our striving to continue relations of friendship and good-neighborliness with Romania.

Prospects for Helsinki-2 Conference Viewed

PM2712162389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 7

[Konstantin Sorokin article under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Toward a New Phase"]

[Text] Following M.S. Gorbachev's recent series of talks with leaders of the leading Western countries, a new concept has entered the international political lexicon—Helsinki-2. It concerns a new summit meeting of the all-European conference participants which, at the proposal of the Soviet leader, should be held not in 1992, as was planned earlier, but next year.

The first conference of this kind was held in 1975, also in the capital of Finland. Then its participants were faced with the following two main tasks: to consolidate the situation that had taken shape in Europe after the war—that included affirming the inviolability of existing frontiers—as well as to outline the general contours of future relations among the European countries, the United States, and Canada. As subsequent events have shown, a whole range of provisions in the conference's Final Act prepared by experts were ahead of their time and transcended the political thinking of the leaders of both West and East.

Today the situation is fundamentally different. The political processes in Europe, and indeed in the whole world, are moving fast and are no longer following the usual channel. The existing political and legal mechanisms and structures are beginning to fall noticeably behind current requirements, and in some ways are holding back the changes in train. Summing up what has been done, determining the political coordinates of the current phase of international relations, looking to the next decade and the 21st Century—these are all extremely important and urgent tasks which are determining the level and date of Helsinki-2.

To be specific, it is quite probable that new agreements on confidence-building measures and on reducing NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional armed forces and arms will be signed at this meeting. They are capable of radically changing the military and political landscape of Europe that has formed over the past 40 years or so. But the implementation of these agreements will in its turn bring new questions: on the aims of subsequent talks in the given sphere and on the need to change the nature of both alliances in Europe toward their greater politicization.

An important place within the framework of Helsinki-2 will surely be taken by the political changes underway in Europe. The processes of perestroyka in the USSR, changes in East Europe, active integration in the west of the continent, the rapprochement of both parts of Europe—all of these are developing actively, and their total result will evidently determine the "architecture" of the common European home. However, it must not be forgotten that even the most positive changes may have a certain "destabilizing potential." This is especially true with respect to Europe—which has long been the focus of international contradictions and conflicts. The combination of elemental forces at work and lack of foresight can lead to chaos. In these conditions the noncoordination of the sides' positions becomes extremely dangerous. Therefore it is important to try to resolve existing problems both at the conference and now.

The talks that have taken place between the Soviet leader and the leaders of a number of Western countries have essentially been a phase of this preparation, during which "national" viewpoints on the events taking place have been brought closer together. They have laid a solid basis for transferring from bilateral political contacts in building the European home to a new level—multilateral cooperation—which may begin as soon as next year.

United States & Canada

Congress Battles Pentagon on Military Budget

PM2212101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Against Substantial Cuts"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Dec—U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney made a speech here Friday [15 December] to U.S. college and high school students in which he touched on the question of possible changes in the U.S. military budget in the immediate future. While acknowledging that the major political transformations in the East European countries are leading to a reduction in international tension, he made it clearly understood that he is against a substantial cut in his department's budget.

The defense secretary's speech was, perhaps, one of the harshest of recent times. This can be explained above all by the fact that on Friday the Pentagon chief presented his draft U.S. military budget for the 1991 financial year to the White House Office of Management and Budget. An "invisible battle" around the military budget has already started in Washington between Congress, which is insisting on substantial cuts in defense expenditures, and the Pentagon, which is trying at any price to prevent them being cut too much.

China

Foreign Ministry Issues Paper on Ties With China

OW2312065189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] The No 12 issue of the Soviet Union's INTERNATIONAL LIFE magazine published a document drafted by the Soviet Foreign Ministry entitled: "The Soviet Union's Diplomatic Activities in the Period of Reform." I would like to briefly introduce to our listeners the part of the document that deals with Soviet-Chinese relations.

The document points out: Although the Soviet Union and China still have differences on some international issues, these differences are diminishing. The two countries have similar or identical views on the most important issues, such as disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. They hold similar stands even on the issue of deploying weapons in space, on destroying chemical weapons, on reducing military activities in the Pacific region, and on a series of other international issues.

The document also points out: Ending the basic process of normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and China does not mean that all problems and differences accumulated in the past will be automatically ironed out quickly. Nor can we guarantee that new problems and different views will not arise. However, both sides now unanimously agree that any problems concerning relations between the two countries can be resolved through constructive dialogue.

CPSU Official Interviewed on Sino-Soviet Ties

OW2612144389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Interview with (Tavrovskiy), an official of the CPSU Central Committee; date and place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] What is the state of affairs in relations between the Soviet Union and China at the present stage? What is the nature of their relations? Our station reporter Solovyev asked (Tavrovskiy), an official of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer these questions.

(Tavrovskiy) said: Soviet-Chinese relations are developing on the basis of true good-neighborhoodliness. This is as it should be in relations between two large socialist countries.

Here I would like to point out in particular the principles specifically laid down at the Soviet-Chinese summit last May; namely, mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit. International experience has convinced us of the vitality of these principles. Both the Soviet Union and China strongly believe in this reliable foundation of their relations.

Today, the relations between the two countries have entered a new stage. This on no account means that the relations between the two countries will return to those existing in the 1950's, nor will they repeat the confrontation existing in the 1960's and 1970's. This is because of the domestic changes in the two countries and the changes in the international relations.

I would like to talk about the relationship between the CPSU and Communist Party of China [CPC]. The relations between the two parties are very important, because both parties play the leading role in their respective country. In the 1950's, the relations between the CPSU and CPC were established on a foundation with potential complications. At that time, complete consensus on all domestic and foreign policy issues was thought to be the unshakable foundation in the relations between the two countries. A deviation from this consensus was regarded as a difference in principle and in their ideology. This dogmatic stand became the cause of the breach in relations between the two parties and the deterioration of relations between the two countries.

The Soviet Union and China have learned a lesson from the past. They have established their relations on a foundation completely different from that of the past. Both sides consider it a normal phenomenon to have ideological differences. Such differences should not have adverse effect on their relations. As it was pointed out in

the summit, no one holds the highest truth and no one should impose one's will on others.

PRC Spokesman's Remarks on Romania Cited

LD2312103289 Moscow TASS in English 1018 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Beijing December 23 TASS—China closely follows the developments in Romania and believes that what is taking place there is the internal affair of this country, a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry replied to foreign journalists on telephone today.

Hopefully friendship between the Chinese and Romanian peoples will continue and the events would not affect the friendly relations between the two countries.

The spokesman dismissed reports that Ceausescu was heading for China as groundless.

A TANJUG correspondent reported from Beijing that the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman failed to give a definite answer to the question of the possible granting of asylum to Ceausescu if he asks for it. Neither did he reject the possibility that Ceausescu, whose fate is still unknown, will ask for political asylum in China.

Northeast Asia

Moscow Criticizes KCNA's Reportage on Romania

OW2412185689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Today, 1 week after the Romanian people started a large-scale activity against the rule of the Ceausescu clique, the news media in People's Korea reported on the events in Romania for the first time.

In a 10-line report on the Romanian situation, KCNA this morning described the sad and bloody suppression of Timisoara residents by security forces on 17 December as an antigovernment unrest. KCNA also described the 21 December events in Bucharest as an antigovernment rally and demonstration, and said that even some violent cases were reported.

It was in such a brief manner that KCNA commented on the heroic struggle waged throughout Romania by the Romanian people, a struggle for freedom and democracy and against the enemy who resists revolutionary changes.

More on Ryzhkov Talks With Mongolia's Gombosuren

PM2312193389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Ties Are Developing"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Ts. Gombosuren, Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] foreign minister, who is on a working visit in Moscow, at the Kremlin on 22 December.

A conversation took place on topical questions of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation and the international situation.

N.I. Ryzhkov briefed the MPR foreign minister on the specific features of the present stage of perestroyka in the USSR and the practical steps to implement political and economic reforms, as well as on the course of discussion of the country's most important domestic policy tasks at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The Mongolian people, Ts. Gombosuren declared, follow with interest and sympathy the process of socialism's renewal in the Soviet Union. The minister spoke of the main decisions of the recently held Seventh Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee Plenum and MPR People's Great Hural session, aimed at accelerating the Mongolian society's socialist perestroyka and at creating a rule-of-law state.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers wished success to the fraternal Mongolian people who, under the MPRP's leadership, have embarked on fundamental renewal of all aspects of socipolitical and economic life in the country in accordance with national specific features.

When examining questions of the further development of Soviet-Mongolian relations, both sides noted the importance of improving the mechanism and enhancing the efficiency of economic cooperation in the interests of both countries' peoples.

It was noted that positive developments in the world arena convincingly prove the increasingly tangible effect of new political thinking on the international climate. N.I. Ryzhkov highly appraised the MPR's new foreign policy initiative concerning the formation of a permanent mechanism for political dialogue and cooperation in the northwest part of the Asia-Pacific region.

The conversation, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was attended by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the MPR; and Ts. Gurbadam, MPR ambassador to the USSR.

Gombosuren Notes Problems in Ties

OW2712074189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1045 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Interview with T. Gombosuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs; from the "World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] The Mongolian People's Republic is playing an active part in strengthening peace in Asia. Comrade Gombosuren, Mongolian minister of foreign affairs, has been in our country on a working visit. Before leaving for

home, he was interviewed by our correspondent. [Video shows Gombosuren facing camera]

[Begin Gombosuren recording] Well, I held talks with Comrade Shevardnadze. The talks passed in a traditional, friendly atmosphere, and we spoke for about 4 hours. We talked about questions that concern Mongolian-Soviet relations and world politics of mutual interest.

Today, I had the honor of calling on Comrade Ryzhkov, and we also had a very cordial and frank talk. Questions concerning our mutual relations, in particular economic cooperation, were discussed.

As Soviet comrades and the Mongolian people well know, Mongolian-Soviet relations are extremely broad and cover all spheres of public life. They are very important factors for the development of our national economy and for the solution of topical tasks in the Mongolian economy. However, this does not mean that everything is proceeding very smoothly for us. Several problems have accumulated, and new ones are emerging. Therefore, the question of solving them is now the topic of discussion between our corresponding departments. [end recording]

Japan 'Ambiguous' on U.S. Panama 'Invasion'

OW2312061989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] In connection with Japan's reaction to the U.S. invasion of Panama, Moscow Radio commentator Dmitriyev comments:

The Japanese Government showed its understanding of the U.S. invasion. In his telephone conversation with President Bush, Prime Minister Kaifu said that he understands the reason that compelled the United States to take the action.

The Japanese Government always has taken this sort of posture toward such U.S. Government actions, which, naturally, deserve condemnation. The most remarkable example is the Nakasone cabinet's understanding of the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada. There are other examples as well.

Japan showed its understanding for the U.S. position when it continued to carry out nuclear testing under conditions of a unilateral Soviet moratorium. It also showed its understanding for a decision by the U.S. Government in connection with a stipulation of SALT II—the second strategic arms limitation treaty—and the destruction of an Iranian oil base in 1987. The Japanese Government adopted a similar posture toward the 1986 U.S. strike against Libya and its downing of an Iranian passenger plane as well.

From this ambiguous attitude one can discern the Japanese Government's intention to avoid fairly evaluating the actions of its elder brother, an ally bound by the Security Treaty, and thereby maintaining its sincerity toward the U.S. Government while simultaneously not frankly stating its full support.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Moriyama said that the understanding expressed by Prime Minister Kaifu literally means an understanding and not any more than that. Then what did Foreign Minister Nakayama mean when he said that Japan has wanted for a long time to see a truly democratic leadership born in Panama?

The KYODO NEWS SERVICE interpreted this as a statement of support wrapped in a wafer. At any rate, aside from what Foreign Minister Nakayama wanted to say, it is apparent that the difference between an understanding and a consent is only one step.

On the other hand, the right or wrong of the case is utterly clear to unofficial parties. Major newspapers in Japan broke into a chorus of denunciation against the U.S. invasion of Panama and urged the Japanese Government to take a principled stand.

ASASHI SHIMBUN said that the U.S. aggression tramples underfoot Panama's independence and sovereignty and might throw cold water on the trend of international detente. Latin American countries, including those that oppose General Noriega, sternly denounced the U.S. action.

Whatever the cause may be cited to justify the U.S. invasion, it is unforgiveable to resort to an armed act against an independent country.

In the name of protecting the lives of American citizens and establishing democracy in Panama, a number of casualties have already been sustained on both sides and this number is expected to grow. According to reports, children are among the slain Panamanians. Needless to say, it is impossible to establish democracy by force of arms, no matter which country it may be.

The U.S. invasion of Panama also shows how fragile are the trends of international detente. Therefore, the ambiguous attitude of the Japanese Government will not help promote these trends, nor enhance Japan's prestige in the international arena.

Soviet-Japanese Treaty Talks Session Ends

LD2012225889 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo December 19 TASS—A session of the Standing Working Group on the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan was held here between December 18-19.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, the Japanese delegation's head was Deputy Foreign Minister Hisashi Owada.

During the session the Soviet representative met Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and his First Deputy Takakazu Kuriyama. The meeting and talks were attended by Soviet Ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev.

The Soviet side proposed to exchange draft peace treaties at the next session. The latter will be held at a time specified by the sides.

Rogachev Remarks Cited

OW2312050689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Report by station Tokyo correspondent Potapov—announcer-read]

[Text] The fourth round of talks of the deputy foreign ministerial level working group on the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty ended in Tokyo on 19 December. According to a report filed by Moscow Radio Tokyo correspondent Potapov, the head of the Soviet delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev, made the following comments at a news conference following the conclusion of the talks:

The meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama was conducted in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. During the meeting, both sides expressed satisfaction that Soviet-Japanese relations have shown signs of improvement and that this trend is growing. Both sides also highly appraised the results of the Supreme Soviet delegation's recent visit to Japan. The program of political consultations between the Soviet Union and Japan, to be undertaken as concrete preparations for Chairman Gorbachev's scheduled visit to Japan in 1991, also was discussed.

During the peace treaty talks, we engaged in topical in-depth discussion on all aspects of the treaty on both sides, i.e. from the viewpoints of international law, history, geography, and so forth. During the talks, emphasis was placed on an exchange of views on the overall structure of the future peace treaty. The Soviet side considers the peace treaty a basic comprehensive document. It will have to appraise the conduct of postwar Soviet-Japanese relations, summarize the experience accumulated in the postwar period, and lay a solid basis for confidence in future developments in bilateral relations.

After making the above remarks, Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev continued: We believe that it would be natural and reasonable for the peace treaty to appropriately reflect the present state of Soviet-Japanese relations and to stimulate future developments in bilateral relations. On the other hand, we have again not been able to close the gap between the positions of both sides on certain issues. This refers, first, to the geographical aspect, that is, the issue of drawing a national boundary between the USSR and Japan. During the talks, we presented solid international law, and historical and geographical arguments to support Soviet legal jurisdiction over the Kuril Islands, including the southern part.

East Europe

Katushev, Syrian Counterpart Discuss Trade

LD2712093189 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Damascus December 26 TASS—Soviet-Syrian talks between a Soviet Government delegation and Syrian counterparts began in Damascus today.

The Soviet delegation is led by Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, the Syrian—by Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade Muhammad al-'Imadi.

The sides discussed the state and prospects of economic and trade cooperation between the two friendly countries.

Syrian Vice President Visits Egypt, Meets Mubarak

PM2712102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Belyakov: "Step-by-Step"]

[Text] Cairo, 26 Dec—Syrian Vice President A.H. Khaddam has paid a brief visit to the Egyptian capital. He has been received by Egyptian President H. Mubarak.

This event has been widely commented upon by the Arab press since Syria is one of the two Arab states which has still not restored relations with Egypt, broken off 10 years ago.

The ice broke in early December after President Mubarak received the Syrian foreign minister, who had come to Cairo to take part in the inter-Arab conference. Soon after that, Syrian President H. al-Asad said in an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-QABAS that the continuation of the dispute with Egypt does not serve the higher interests of the Arab nation. This statement was assessed at its worth in Cairo.

The Egyptian-Syrian rapprochement that has emerged has a political tinge. Syria is one of the main sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since 1967 the Golan Heights, which belong to it, have been occupied by Israel so that it is impossible to achieve an all-embracing settlement without Syria's participation.

But there is one further aspect to the normalization of Egyptian-Syrian relations. It could help to ease differences between Syria and Iraq and also between Syria and the PLO, since Egypt has established close ties with them.

PRAVDA Views Middle East 'Missile Race'

PM2212151389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch under the rubric "After the Event": "Missile Race"]

[Text] Cairo, December—Another state—Iraq—has taken a step in the development of space rocket technology. A three-stage ballistic missile was launched 5 December from the al-Anbar Space Research Center to the west of Baghdad.

The missile can put artificial satellites into orbit. The intention is to launch a satellite bought abroad. It will most likely be manufactured at Brazilian Orbita Space Systems' plants and equipped with French photographic apparatus. Intensive talks have been under way between the sides over the last few months on this subject. In the future the Iraqis themselves will be able to make satellites at the research center equipped by the same company.

Reporting on the Iraqi-Brazilian talks, a recent edition of London's well-informed journal MIDDLE EAST pointed out that "although they are being conducted by civilian departments and companies, there is no doubt as to the military significance of a satellite for Iraq." This conclusion is justified by the fact that powerful photographic apparatus may be used not only for economic but also for intelligence purposes, and Iraq has many enemies—primarily neighboring Iran, with whom it has been at war for 8 years and with whom a peace treaty has not as yet been concluded. And Israel, which bombed the Iraqi nuclear center in 1981.

Israel was the first Near East state to launch its own "Ofeq-1" satellite last September. This aroused disquiet in the Arab world. Speeches by politicians and the press called for an Arab satellite to be developed in retaliation. What most concerned the Arabs was the emergence in Israel of a rocket which can not only put satellites into space orbit but also carry nuclear weapons. A lot has been said of late about Israel's ability to produce nuclear weapons—moreover, virtually all the experts are convinced that such weapons already exist.

It is now Israel's turn to be jumpy. The Egyptian press reports that an official Israeli spokesman expressed concern over the launch of the Iraqi missile since, according to him, it may carry warheads with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.

In addition to Israel and Iraq, at least another three Near East states—Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia—have rockets, albeit not such powerful ones. While two acute conflicts—Arab-Israeli and Iran-Iraq—have not yet been settled in this region.

The well-known Israeli thesis about "defensible borders," which is used to justify territorial seizures, is not working as missile weapons spread in the Near East. No border, even the most "natural," can be fully defended any more by purely military means. This border can only be made secure by political means, by its neighbors acknowledging it, and by a peace settlement.

Correspondent, Israeli Official View Trade Ties

LD2612235189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] David Gal, adviser to Israeli Finance Minister Shim'on Peres, has visited our country. Our correspondent Ashot Nasibov met the guest.

[Nasibov] The most important piece of information I obtained during the interview is that a visit to our country by Shim'on Peres himself is expected at the beginning of January. He has been invited by the Soviet Peace Committee, so it will be an unofficial visit, which does not, incidentally, preclude meetings between the Israeli and representatives of the Soviet leadership. The main objective of the forthcoming visit, however, is not so much to establish contacts with political circles as to organize trade links. It is for this reason that a large delegation of businessmen is to accompany Shimon Peres. Their names told me a lot. The arrival of our guest, David Gal, was to prepare for the upcoming visit by the Israeli minister. Naturally, it was economic links which were examined first of all.

[Begin Gal recording in English fading into Russian translation] I think that there is great potential for economic cooperation between our two countries, said my conversation partner. We have several projects which could arouse great interest within the Soviet Union and we are currently trying to draw attention to these projects and find ways of implementing them. [end recording]

In answer to a question, David Gal explained that he had in mind using Israeli experience in constructing thermal and solar power stations, agriculture, banking, and computerization, and in fitting Soviet airliners with Western electronic equipment. All this sounds attractive, but their first experience of contacts with the Soviet side had led to many questions from the Israeli businessmen. One week in our country was enough for an Isreali economist to realize the disorder in our foreign economic activity, the lack of seriousness on the part of many partners in the talks, and the dependence of major deals on the whim of a minor civil servant, even with goodwill expressed higher up. You do not know who to put proposals to, whom you can trust and whom you can not. It is all very unsound, David Gal lamented.

I should also like to dwell on another point. No doubt the question may well be asked by our listeners: Is it worth embarking on contacts, even trade contacts, with Israel, a country with such a sorry reputation? I think that it is, but proceeding from the principle of removing ideology from relations between states. It is possible not to enter into political contacts, although this, too, is not a way out. In the end, we do trade, and very successfully, with South Korea. "Business is business" and just like politics, there is no getting away without compromises here.

Moscow TV Interviews Afghan Rebel Spokesman

LD2412235689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 24 December in its "Seven Days" program broadcasts a 25-minute report on Afghanistan. The announcer says an anniversary is approaching: 10 years since Soviet troops went into Afghanistan and almost 1 year since we left. How are things there today?

Reporter S. Alekseyev, in Pakistan, presents a video report on the situation. He begins by describing Peshawar and the large number of Afghan refugees living in camps there.

A Pakistani senior administrator of 33 camps remarks to the correspondent: "You are the first Soviet journalist we are allowing in to see the refugees. We hope you will tell the truth." Alekseyev goes on to tell the story of one refugee. He says he asked many refugees if anyone had returned to Afghanistan, but didn't hear of anyone who had; they all told him that they would not return until the puppet regime in Kabul had been overthrown. The video shows tents, children.

Alekseyev says: "It turned out not to be difficult to meet representatives of the recently formed transitional government of the mujahidin of the Alliance of Seven of the Afghan opposition. The alliance has its headquarters quite legally here in Peshawar. I made a telephone call and immediately they agreed to an interview.

"An intricate labyrinth of narrow alleyways, between blind earth walls without doors or windows. Somewhere here our recently released boys, (Prokopchuk) and (Lopukh), spent most of their captivity. Now here is the mujahedin headquarters. A thorough search and here we are in the office of (Abdurrahim), director of the information service of the transitional government, youthful, cultured, graduated from Kabul University in 1977, an engineer and father of 3 young daughters."

Alekseyev summarizes the interview with (Abdurrahim): "First of all, general information about the situation in Afghanistan, according to which the mujahidin are controlling more than 90 percent of the territory of the country. The Kabul regime exists only in the large towns, fortified with military units or thanks to support from the Soviet Union. But surely the mujahidin only exist thanks to military and other supplies from the United States and a number of other countries? That's something completely different. We are fighting for independence, freedom, and justice, and for the sake of these aims our people have the right to receive support from wherever they consider necessary. But the elements which the Afghan people do not recognize, which have brought shame on Afghanistan by their actions, do not have such a right. Any support from anyone whatsoever is immoral. A simple truth recognized by all international laws: It is the majority who is in the right. And, of course, that majority has the right to determine its fate itself and to defend it without interference from outside."

"So the war in Afghanistan is endless? It's very easy to put an end to it: The Soviet Union will give up its support for Kabul and recognize the government of the mujahedin as the one enjoying the confidence of the majority of the Afghan people. So you mean the Geneva accords do not suit you? They are not in the interests of the Afghan people—after all, they were not asked what kind of agreement they need. The mujahedin, who are the true and rightful representatives of the people, did not sign the Geneva agreements. That's the main thing."

Alekseyev goes on to talk about a guerrilla leader who has just returned from fighting by Jalalabad to see his family before going back to Afghanistan. "How long do they intend to fight with their fellow countrymen? Perhaps they don't know that they were long ago promised an amnesty and normal life in their country if they laid down their weapons? The answer was the familiar one: A holy war until the overthrow of the Kabul regime."

Afghan Rebel Claims Against USSR Rejected

PM2212155789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel A. Ivanov article: "Hopeless Course, or How the Afghan Opposition Accounts for Its Failures"]

[Text] The Soviet and foreign mass media have announced that on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting off Malta, representatives of the Pakistani Administration and S. Mujaddedi, so-called "president" of the Afghan opposition, visited the United States. These visitors' task was to persuade President Bush not to make any concessions to the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan on questions relating to the settlement of the Afghan problem and to seek to ensure that the United States increases its political and military support for the Afghan counterrevolutionary "transitional government."

It has become known that, in justification of the counterrevolution's miscalculations and failures, "president" Mujadeddi cited the continuation of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan and the drastic reduction—following completion of the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan—in U.S. military aid to mujahidin from the "Alliance of Seven" as the two main reasons that prevented the counterrevolution in spring, summer, and fall 1989 from achieving any tangible successes in the struggle against the legitimate Afghan Government.

Accusing the Soviet Union of "violating" the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, the emissary of the "Alliance of Seven" cited "data" regarding massive Soviet arms shipments to Afghanistan, Soviet servicemen's alleged continuing involvement in combat operations on

Afghan territory, and the "ever-increasing scale of Soviet air strikes" on areas controlled by the rebels.

The Afghan mujahidin and their U.S. and Pakistani patrons are well aware that food, fuel, construction materials, essential industrial commodities, and so on form the bulk of the Soviet shipments to Afghanistan. The country's livelihood is in many respects ensured via this selfless assistance. Soviet military shipments to the legitimate Afghan Government are also taking place—but not on the "vast scale" of which Mujaddedi spoke. Moreover, they are being implemented within the framework of an intergovernmental agreement and in no way contravene the Geneva accords.

As for the other accusations leveled by the representative of the "Alliance of Seven" at the Soviet Union, presumably the U.S. Administration can see them for what they are worth. As of 15 February 1989 there has not been a single Soviet soldier in the Republic of Afghanistan. The Soviet side has never denied the existence of a small USSR Defense Ministry communications group in Kabul, among whose members' duties it was impossible to include—even if this was desired—"participation in combat operations." And of course it would be naive to assume that this group could affect the outcome of combat operations even if it were to take a direct part in them. But the "ever-increasing scale of Soviet air strikes" is a pure fabrication by Pakistan's notorious interagency intelligence directorate and the mujahidin "transitional government's" propaganda service.

If anything requires close attention in this situation it is U.S. policy and its resultant practical activity in the so-called "Afghan question." First, it would be a good thing to investigate whether the story of this year's alleged drastic reduction in the scale of U.S. military shipments to the mujahedin which has become widespread recently is in line with the real situation. For it is well known that both prior to and after the entry into force of the Geneva accords the United States and Pakistan supplied massive arms shipments to the "Alliance of Seven" and its combat formations. Let us recall that the amount of U.S. aid to anti-Afghan mujahidin groupings has increased constantly. Whereas in 1980-1983 the United States allocated only $200 million for these purposes, in 1984-1986 this figure amounted to $1.1. billion; and in 1987-1988 U.S. aid to the Afghan counterrevolution totaled $1.7 billion, while in 1989 alone it has been $1.2 billion. Thus, given these figures, talk of a reduction in U.S. aid to the mujahidin represents an attempt to hoodwink public opinion.

Why are the leaders of the Afghan counterrevolution and a number of Americans talking about an alleged "drastic reduction" in U.S. weapons shipments to the mujahidin? The answer is clear. In order to justify the need for and "legitimacy" of a further buildup in U.S. military aid to anti-Afghan groupings. The U.S. and Saudi decision to urgently allocate an additional $715 million to the Afghan counterrevolution, which is to be spent on purchasing new weapons consignments, has already been announced.

The hopelessness of resolving the Afghan conflict by armed means is obvious and clearer than ever before. An ever-increasing number of politicians in the United States itself also realize this. I think that the quicker this realization is reflected in an appropriate manner in Washington's political decisions on the Afghan question, the better it will be for Soviet-U.S. relations and for the cause of peace on earth.

Varennikov Comments on Afghanistan Situation

LD2612234489 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] This week it is exactly 10 years since the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. We bring you now more views of members of Soviet parliament, particularly those who took part in the Afghan war. Here is Army General Valentin Varennikov, who was in charge of a special group of the Soviet Defense Ministry during the last 4 years of the war in Afghanistan.

[Begin Varennikov recording, in Russian with superimposed English translation] I can say that the anniversary is no holiday occasion for me. I personally believe that the introduction of troops was made in violation of the Soviet Constitution articles that say such a decision must be taken by the USSR Supreme Soviet, our parliament, or by its Presidium. I can also say that the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan affected the prestige of our state. We opposed ourselves to the world community. Our presence in Afghanistan was marked by heavy casualties in manpower and big economic losses. I hope, said Army General Verennikov, that we will draw proper conclusions and that such a thing won't happen again. I believe that this is the main lesson of the Afghan war. We must think in the future how and for the sake of what we can use the nation's Armed Forces.[end recording]

[Announcer] Is it true that Soviet troops and military advisers helped strengthen the combat capability of the Afghan Army? General Varennikov:

[Begin Varennikov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Yes, that's quite true. I must say that just before the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan some people predicted that the Afghan Government would be toppled, but I was convinced that would not happen. This is vividly confirmed now.

During our stay in Afghanistan we were primarily engaged in setting up the nation's Armed Forces that would be able to perform independently the missions set before them in the interests of the people. It will soon be one year since our troops left that country, yet the Afghan Armed Forces are assuredly performing the missions assigned to them. I think they will keep holding their positions, and yet I would like to say that the

problems of Afghanistan cannot be solved militarily. This should be realized in the first place by those who are fighting the Afghan Government. I believe that if among the armed opposition there are sober-minded people, realists, they must support the policy of national reconciliation announced by President Najibullah. The Afghan problem can be solved only in this way. [end recording]

Sudan's Plans To Introduce Federal System Viewed

AB2312215889 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] It has been announced in Khartoum that the Sudanese Government has started plans to introduce a federal government system beginning next year. Every part will be free to choose either shari'a law or any other laws. Vladimir Borisov, Radio Moscow commentator, says that with the government's decision it appears that the government is seriously planning to solve the religious problems prevailing in Sudan. At the same time, the rebel Christian movements continue to uphold their aims and objectives very strongly. The Christian rebels are defending their land forcefully. John Garang, head of the southern Sudanese people, said he objects to the formation of a federal system. He calls for the formation of a provisional unity government, a new army that truly represents all the political groupings, the holding of general elections, and the suspension of shari'a law.

These two positions aim to end the bloodshed going on for the the past 6 years. The positions differ greatly. The two aborted peace talks in August and early December 1989 bear witness that there is no common stance. General Al-Bashir's government, which took over the country in a coup 6 months ago, replacing the civilian government of Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi, aims to implement its policy without consulting the heads of the southern Sudanese people. What has compelled the government to take such action?

The regime which overthrew al-Mahdi, and which first called for a general constitutional conference, has immediately found itself in a tight corner politically. The regime could not find a solution to the economic crisis facing Sudan, and attempted to crush by force the internal problems of Sudan. The military administration needs to cool the tension in the southern regions of the country. If the regime had accepted the proposals of the southern rebels this could have greatly upset the right-wing Islamic forces, who have a hand in the administration of the country and government. The government's decision to introduce a federal system in the country could have led to the withdrawal of all government forces in the southern regions of the country.

This will further pressure the people in the southern regions to solve their problems. There is no doubt that the government respects the views of some people who support the formation of a federal government, which will split the country, so the Christian-dominated south can form its own government, while the north can declare itself an Islamic republic.

Although the Sudanese People's Liberation Army's proposals are more meaningful for a united Sudan, the military government's program might go through, our commentator says. The rebel movement might be forced to either look for ways and means of continuing the struggle, or accept Khartoum's proposal. Although the rebels have achieved some success, the Christian groups cannot launch an attack on the northern regions of the country inhabited by Muslims. The rebel leaders are definitely aware of that fact. The Christian groups hope that the ongoing crisis in Sudan will topple the military government. If the Government of Sudan falls into the hands of democratic forces, which include representatives of southern Sudan, that may bring a solution to the crisis. But the economic catastrophe facing the country may put Sudan in the hands of right-wing Muslims. If that happens, the dismemberment of Sudan will be imminent. That will mean that a large portion of the country, with millions of its inhabitants, will break away from the rest of the country. Religious differences are very dangerous, and that is what Sudan is experiencing. The political outlook for Sudan is not bright, because of the frequent droughts, floods, hundreds of thousands of people with religious differences, and the very large number of refugees due to the war. The truth is that these problems cannot be solved overnight.

East Europe

Media Report on Developments in Romania

President, Premier Give News Briefing

PM2712102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA own correspondents V. Vedrashko and V. Volodin untitled dispatch under general heading: "Regarding Events in Romania"]

[Text] Bucharest 26 Dec—Foreign correspondents accredited in Romania had a meeting on 26 December in the Romanian Foreign Ministry building with Ion Iliescu, Chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, and P. Roman, prime minister of the government. During the meeting, I. Iliescu and P. Roman, assessing how they see the present situation in the country, also answered questions from Soviet journalists. We offer to our readers an account of our conversation with the present leaders of Romania.

Ion Iliescu stressed the spontaneous nature of the mass movement engendered by the profound crisis into which the "Ceausescu regime had plunged the country." He noted that what took place should not be described as a coup d'etat. The new situation developed as a result of a popular outburst without prior organization and without external support. Therein lies the distinctive feature of

the situation. At present there is an absence of any established organizational structures; they are only just being formed.

The president said that the process of renewal is complicated by the disorganization of the economy and by the terrorist actions which are destabilizing the situation. The Ceausescu regime created a powerful apparatus of repression which is operating even now, thus rendering the organization of new political structures more difficult. There is evidence on hand of instances of subversion and sabotage and of mistrust between the new forces and old apparatus. At the same time, Iliescu observed, there is a consensus among all the forces which had participated in overthrowing the dictatorship.

What tasks face the government? This question was answered by Petre Roman, the head of government. Above all it is a question of restoring the functioning of the national economy under conditions of the existence of the old structures, which for the time being still persists. So far it has proved possible to resolve only certain urgent issues. For example, the consumption of electrical power already amounts to 90% of the old regime's normal level of consumption.

The vigorous elaboration of measures to renew the constitution and the law on elections which are scheduled for April next year, has begun. The development of the economy will take the path of decentralization and of encouraging initiative at all levels. The precise delimitation of authority—legislative, executive, and judicial—is to be carried out.

Analyzing the arrangement of forces at the moment of the uprising, the president stressed that the revolution owes its victory to the massive and vigoropus participation of the people, especially young people, who supported the Army.

Speaking of the Romanian Communist Party, which, in I. Iliescu's opinion, has totally compromised itself in the eyes of the people, he noted that it is difficult to talk about its future destiny. This is sad, and it is not known whether the party will manage to be preserved. In the future, Romania intends to implement the concept of political pluralism on the unified platform of the most diverse movements. It is today too early to talk about the appearance of new political parties on the surface of the country's public life. But it not ruled out that they will appear in the future.

New Leaders Profiled

LD2612214289 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 26 TASS—Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front, was born in Oltenita, the Ilof District, in 1930. He graduated from the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute and studied in Moscow. He is a power engineer by profession. Iliescu began to take part in public life after joining the Young Communist League in 1944. In 1956 he was secretary of the Young Communist League Central Committee. In 1953 he joined the Romanian Communist Party. Iliescu held the posts of member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee (1971). He was removed from managerial posts for opposing the Ceausescu policy and transferred to the post of the first secretary of the Iasi Regional Party Committee and later of a secretary of the Timis District Party Committee. His latest post is that of the director of the Bucharest Publishing House of Scientific and Technical Literature. Iliescu is very popular in Romania for his bold statements in defence of freedom and a principled stand with regard to personal dictatorship.

Petre Roman, prime minister of the Romanian Government, was born in Bucharest on July 22, 1946. He graduated from the Hydroengineering Department of the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute. He also has an honours diploma of the Higher Polytechnical School of Toulouse, France. Roman took a post- graduate course at the Hydroengineering Department of the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute and later worked there as a teacher and head of the department. He has a Ph.D. scientific degree.

New Foreign Minister Appointed

LD2712132289 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 27 TASS—The leaders of the National Salvation Front told foreign journalists here today that Sergiu Celac had been appointed Romania's new foreign minister.

More Ministers To Be Chosen 27 Dec

LD2712131589 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 27 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov:

Life is gradually returning to normal in the Romanian capital. The National Salvation Front Council has repealed several decrees and laws issued by the Ceausescu regime.

They include all the decrees awarding honorary titles and decorations to Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu. Declared abrogated also are laws on the Defence committee of the socialist republic of Romania, on the systematisation of territories, villages and towns, on how people should address each other (only the address "comrade" was permitted). Annulled also is the law obliging all party functionaries, managers and specialists to live in the administrative areas where they work.

The 1984 parliamentary decision to endorse the country's food supply programme has been ruled null and void. The council decided to liquidate the central party

and state commissions, abbrogate decrees on the registration of typewriters and the prohibition of abortions. It was also decided to repay the money levied on the population under the law to set up an economic development fund.

Today's Romanian newspapers also publish a decree incorporating state security and other bodies, formerly subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, into the Ministry of National Defence.

In the light of the difficult situation in the country after the trial and execution of the Ceausescu couple, the National Salvation Front council ordered extraordinary military tribunals to be set up in the capital and all over the country. They will investigate crimes committed by members of the Ceausescu clan and carry out the sentences passed on them.

The new Romanian Government announced that "surplus levies" on sugar, rice, meat products, coal and other consumer goods, sold in urban areas, will be annulled as of January 1, 1990.

The formation of the new government is continuing. Several ministers will be appointed today, TASS was told at the National Salvation Front Council.

Gorbachev Congratulates Iliescu

LD2612214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sent a telegram to Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front of Romania. It says:

Accept sincere congratulations on your election as chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania. You have headed the leadership of the country during a difficult hour, when Romanian patriots have resolutely come out in favor of saving the nation from the forces of arbitrariness and terror, in favor of the establishment of true democratic ways in their land.

Realizing the full complexity and the significance of the tasks facing the National Salvation Front, I would like to assure you that the friendly Romanian people will meet along the path of renewal support on the part of the peoples and leadership of the Soviet Union.

Our countries are united by long and firm allied bounds and maintain fruitful economic and cultural ties. I am convinced that now new broad possibilities are opening up for the development and strengthening of Soviet-Romanian cooperation, for the mutual benefit of our peoples, in the interests of lasting peace and stability in Europe.

Ministers Congratulate Roman

PM2612220389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers undated message to Petre Roman on his appointment as Romanian Prime Minister]

[Text] To Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania

Accept our sincere congratulations on your appointment as prime minister of Romania.

We express the hope that Soviet-Romanian relations will develop fruitfully in the interests of the implementation of profound democratic transformations in our countries and strengthened friendship and all-around cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Romania.

We wish you successful work in your high office.

USSR Council of Ministers

Anticommunist Rally in Bucharest

LD2612140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Dec (TASS)—A few hours ago, people began to congregate in Palace Square, Bucharest, near the Central Committee building. A mass meeting has just started there in which several thousand people are already participating.

The speakers are reading out reports from various districts of the country saying the local committees of the National Salvation Front are composed of old leaders and are not competent. One such report points out that in Craivoa the new bodies of power have refused to talk to the students. The slogans "no deceit," "The Army is with us," and "We will not go away," are being chanted. Appeals to the television and the leadership of the National Salvation Front to come to the square and take part in a dialogue are being issued from the rostrum. Individual groups are endeavoring to impose the slogan "Down with the Communists" on those assembled.

"Free Romanian Television" has announced that the Council of the National Salvation Front has nothing to do with the meeting. It has also been stressed that in the Council's opinion, the actual situation in the city is not conducive to holding mass ventures.

26 Dec Situation in Bucharest

LD2612211989 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 26 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov, Nikolay Morozov, Yuriy Bausin and Vadim Malyutin:

The Romanian revolution is evidently entering a new phase: Street clashes in Bucharest are dying down and quiet is returning to other Romanian cities, the Council

of the National Salvation Front is working intensively and the process of the formation of new political structures is gaining momentum.

Euphoric citizens take to the streets to participate in rallies, demonstrations and meetings and hear addresses through loud speakers from lorries rolling along the streets. The creation of three political parties—Democratic, Social Democratic and Christian National Farmers'—has been announced.

A few hours ago, a multi-thousand rally begain in front of the Central Committee building in Palace Square. Speakers read out reports from different provinces, some saying the new local Councils of the National Salvation Front are composed of former inefficient leaders.

One report points out that the new authorities in Craiova have refused to talk to students who keep chanting "No deception", "We shall not leave" and "We want democracy". Members of the National Salvation Front Council are invited to come out into the square and take part in the dialogue. Some small groups call for support to the slogan "Down with communists".

Another rally is going on in Piata Romana. Students and young workers there are calling for the preservation of freedom and democracy that have been gained at a great cost.

"Beware of the wolf in a sheep skin", a huge banner calls. "Counteract opportunists and demagogues, corrupted officials and the Communist wealthy. Stop turning the revolution into a compromise solution".

Free Romanian Television has called for suspending rallies saying there is no possibility to secure the safety of participants—shooting is going on near the Palace and the television centre, shooting can be heard in other parts of the city as well.

It was reported that rumours were being circulated by provocateurs alleging that the Army was no longer backing the revolution. Television announcers stressed that the rumours were lying—the Army was with the people.

Ion Iliescu pointed out, in a televised address, the need to preserve the unity and consensus of the revolution's moving force and to counter attempts to destabilise the activity of the National Salvation Front Council.

International humanitarian aid supplies are pouring into the country through the Otopeni Airport and the city's railway terminals. Twenty six railway truck loads of medicine, clothing, footwear and foodstuffs sent by the Soviet Red Cross Society arrived today at the northern terminal from Kishinev.

Clashes Continue in Timisoara

LD2612183589 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara December 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Anatoliy Bocharov:

Shots can still be heard in Timisoara, a city in the western part of Romania. There are killed and wounded. Supporters of the overthrown dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, mostly the personnel of the former security service Securitate, continue to offer armed resistance to the insurgents.

In an attempt to hide from popular indignation, the extremists try to flee the city. As a rule, they take these desparate steps at night, firing at random at passers-by. We learned from our own experience that the insurgents had a good reason, when taking measures for ensuring the safety of work and travel of foreign journalists in Timisoara and in the area around it. Eight journalists were wounded. Danny Huwe, a Belgian journalist, was shot dead by extremists on Monday. His car in which he was driving together with his three colleagues was fired at by anti-insurgent sharp-shooters.

Army units are combing Timisoara Districts and separate buildings. They are acting in close cooperation with the democratic committee which assumed the duty to bring the situation in the city back to normal. Facts show that they are facing a strong and treacherous enemy trained in advance to stage repressions against the population. For example, a regular arms cache was found in the house of one of the heads of the security force. It is believed that there are many such arms caches in the houses of security officers. This is the explanation for continuing armed clashes in the streets of the city.

Members of the Democratic Committee told TASS that the Securitate had been created to serve as the mainstay of the ousted regime. It had included well-equipped specialised units and a large network of informers. One should see the eyes of the people looking at the arrests of extremists. They are full of tears, of grief over the death of defenseless people during the shooting of the demonstration and hatred for the totalitarian regime.

There is no doubt that the last hotbeds of resistance will soon be suppressed. The situation in the city is getting back to normal with difficulty and step by step. Residents met with satisfaction the order of the National Salvation Front of Romania that all the armaments should be urgently handed over to the authorities. People heeded the appeal of the Democratic Committee to return to their working places. Some grocery shops were opened. Tram, trolleybus and bus traffic was resumed.

Victor and Victoria are now the most popular names in the city. To commemorate the victory of the people, they were given to its youngest residents, a boy and a girl, who were born after the overthrow of the regime. A proposal is being discussed in Timisoara to make December 22,

the day when the revolutionary rejuvenation of Romania was started, a national holiday.

On our way from Timisoara to Yugoslavia, we saw trucks carrying the Red Cross flag. They were transporting to Romania food, medicines and clothes. Aid to the Romanian people that suffered from the ousted regime is coming from many countries.

Romanian Leaders Comment on Process

LD2612203689 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest December 26 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy, Nikolay Marozov, Yuriy Bausin and Vadim Malyutin:

The specific peculiarity of the process under way in Romania is that it is, first and foremost, a spontaneous mass movement process, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council Ion Iliescu told Soviet journalists at a meeting here today.

This is one of many historic responsibilities of the Ceausescu regime that brought the country to an extreme crisis in the economy, the social sphere, political and all other areas.

All this resulted in a great social tension fraught with explosion. This was, Iliescu stressed, a spontaneous wave that swept the regime away. It would be wrong to picture the event as a coup d'etat organised by certain forces with outside support. This is good on the one hand, but also a source of great complications on the other. The new power has no organised system. It is being formed at present. We are working to establish a system for the purpose. And it is an uphill job. Because there are two complications. First, the terrorist actions. The Ceausescu regime disorganized the economy. But at the same time it created a powerful system of repressions that is still active in destabilising the country. Second, and in connection with this, we face difficulties in the reorganisation and normalisation of the economy. There are even tendencies to organise subversion and sabotage, while there persists mistrust between the new front forces and the old apparat.

These are some of the peculiarities and difficulties of the process. This is why the main thing for us now is to create new organisational structures.

There are some positive circumstances, too. One is the general consensus of all the forces that took part in the overthrow of the regime. This forms the basis of the programme of the front that is open to all layers of the Romanian population. We aim at creating a broad, comprehensive front of all healthy forces of society for renewing the country.

Asked when the front was formed and who were its members, Iliescu said:

"Here is a young man. We met on that very first night. He offered to become...eh...a body guard. He is a worker, a taxi driver and 24 years old."

Responding to the statement that there were many young people who began this movement, Iliescu said: "It was not that the movement led to the overthrow but rather that it was created by the overthrow. The National Salvation Front was formed after the overthrow of Ceausescu. There were no structures at the moment. And that was the peculiarity.

In response to the question about the tasks faced by the government, Peter Roman stressed that the tasks included the recovery of the operation of the economy, as early as it was possible.

"We have to deal with old structures," he said. "And we naturally hope to work with greater efficiency than the ousted regime. But under conditions of terrorist pressure and in connection with the fact that the personnel we need have not resumed work in full measure, it is understandable that our difficulties are great. Honestly speaking, we have not had time to deal directly with the economy. All we have managed to do was to settle a number of pressing issues. For example, the consumption of electricity in the country amounts today to 90 percent of its normal consumption under the old regime. This can only be explained by the profound devotion of the people to the cause of the revolution.

Commenting on the process of forming new power structures, Roman said that free elections are scheduled for April next year. The time is brief, he stressed. The council's Vice-President Dumitru Mazilu is now working to start a commission for creating a renewed constitution and election law. Other pressing issues include the working out of new legislation of specific matters to facilitate our economic development. We want to give up excessive centralism and encourage initiative at all levels.

The organisation of new structures is a complex matter but it must be completed soon. First of all, we shall have to separate the powers—legislative, executive and judiciary. The council has shouldered the functions of the legislative body for the time being, the government will handle the executive functions. But so far, it is necessary to resolve expeditiously pressing issues relating to people's life. We have already taken a number of measures concerning next year's plan targets. They need reviewing as they were originally set absolutely without account taken of the actual situation.

The wrath of the popular masses, Roman said further, was the main factor of the triumph of the uprising. The Army only supported the people. The outcome of the uprising was determined by the active and mass involvement of the people, above all young people in the action. This was a revolution of the young. And I am happy that the young people accepted me.

The Ceausescu regime discredited the Communist Party. It is completely compromised. It is difficult to speak about its further fate. This is a sad fact. I do not know if it will be able to survive. As for us, we are part of the National Salvation Front and will implement the concept of plurality, independent of a party structure. We shall seek to pursue a single policy based on a platform uniting different movements.

Salvation Front Statement Cited

PM2612153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Romania: Emergency Measures To Normalize Situation"]

[Text]

National Salvation Front Address to People

Bucharest, 24 Dec—"The Romanian people have again demonstrated their great moral energy released by their will to achieve liberation. The Army, just like many officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has done its duty. The revolution has triumphed." These lines are quoted from the National Salvation Front address which was read out on "Free Romanian Television" today by V. Magureanu, member of the National Salvation Front Council.

The fall of the odious dictatorship of the Ceausescu clan, the address stresses, adds the last page to the blood-stained chronicle of many years of suffering borne by the Romanian people.

With a view to the actual restoration of the situation and ensuring the necessary calm and society's normal life, the National Salvation Front Council has determined to adopt a number of emergency measures. It is above all a question of the need to proclaim an immediate and comprehensive cease-fire throughout the country's territory. Anyone who violates this instruction will be accused of a crime against the Romanian people and subjected to merciless punishment. Not one more drop of blood must be spilled!

The guilt of the dictator and his former lackeys before history and the law will be established by a court which will strictly define the appropriate punishment for their actions in destroying the country.

The Army, the document says, as the sole holder of weapons acts as a firm hand to defend the people's interests. All who have in the past few days acquired weapons and munitions, irrespective of the circumstances, must surrender them at the latest by 1700 hours Monday 25 December.

Subunits of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will become part of the Ministry of National Defense, which assumes sole command over all the country's troops and combat means. Militia organs and fire fighters retain all their specific duties, which they must implement with utmost firmness.

The protection of enterprises, stores, hospitals, schools, and scientific and cultural institutions must be ensured by their leaders and all the working people. Romanian society must function normally thanks to the selfless contribution of each one of us, the address—which also contains an appeal to all fellow citizens to back law-enforcement organs in their efforts to ensure the safety of homes and embassies and the maintenance of diplomatic immunity—stresses.

The new democratic structures must begin their work immediately with a view to rebuilding the country, establishing their organs, submitting to the jurisdiction of the National Salvation Front Council, and, together with the council, adopting the political, social, administrative, and economic measures which are absolutely essential at the initial stage of the reconstruction, the address points out.

Foreign Ministry Official on Events

OW2712090389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2036 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Interview with V.A. Lapshin, head of the Romania Department of the Socialist Countries of Europe Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; from the "Television News Service" newscast presented by Aleksandr Gurnov and incorporated in the "120 Minutes" program—live]

[Text] [Gurnov] Today in our "Evening Talk" rubric, our correspondent Aleksandr Poklad talks with Vladimir Anatoliyevich Lapshin, head of the Romania Department of the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. They are in our studio. [Video cuts to show Poklad talking to Lapshin]

[Poklad] Vladimir Anatoliyevich, truly great and tragic events are occurring in Romania. Tens of thousands are dead, and the situation is changing every hour. How unexpected were these events for us, for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Lapshin] Were they unexpected? Yes and no. No in the sense that social tensions existed in the country and were noticeable during recent years; there were economic and political reasons. Yes in the sense that it was difficult for us to determine or predict the specific timing for these events, and these events developed rapidly. It was also very difficult to predict the form they would take, their bloody nature, and the large number of victims. Even 2 weeks before the events, it was hardly possible for anyone to predict that the outcome would be like this.

[Poklad] The crest has been cut out of the national flag of Romania. This apparently symbolizes a rejection of Ceausescu-style socialism. As a specialist, what do you think will replace the crest?

[Lapshin] Symbolism undoubtedly plays its role during such events. Not only is the former state crest being trampled on in Romania, but the portraits of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, which for many years looked down from windows of book stores, are also being trampled on. Bonfires are now being lit with these portraits. This also concerns everything else linked with the regime. This distaste is quite natural. This concerns portraits, and it also concerns people, people who were part of Ceausescu's entourage, people who made up the party nucleus. This also concerns the party itself.

If we talk about what will replace the present crest, or in other words what path Romania will take in the future, then the answer can be found to some extent in the program that was announced by the front on 23 December. It includes political articles which envisage in particular the rejection of the Communist Party as the only party in the country's leadership. Also envisaged are free elections in April next year and a whole series of economic measures that reject bureaucratic centralized administration. In agriculture, encouraging small peasant farms is envisaged. In foreign policy, fulfilling Romania's obligations under international agreements and treaties is envisaged, and what is most important for us is that it includes obligations under the Warsaw Pact. An editorial committee has begun work on a new constitution for the country. Political events will apparently develop in this sphere, in the spirit of this program.

[Poklad] I understand. During these tragic days, people with great hopes and great pain in their eyes have maintained programming on the Free Romania Television Channel, at times under fire. Who are these people? Who now heads the country?

[Lapshin] The composition of the council is extremely vivid in its social aspect. It includes politicians, party figures who were former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] officials, as well as servicemen. It also includes actors, poets, and writers. These people are well-known not only in Romania; they are just as well-known in the Soviet Union. For example, Sergiu Nicolaescu is an actor known to Soviet viewers by the films "The Last Bullet" and "With Clean Hands." Poetess (Anna Blandianu) is well-known in the literary world, and there are many others.

[Poklad] Now, my last question. How long have you gone without sleep since the beginning of these events?

[Lapshin] Like many of my other colleagues who are involved with Romania, frankly, we have slept very little these days.

[Poklad] Perhaps there are other issues? [Video cuts to show Gurnov in his studio]

[Gurnov] I also have one question for our guest. Vladimir Anatoliyevich, tell me please, yesterday in our program, we told television viewers that a train with Soviet evacuees was nearing the Soviet border. Unfortunately, we do not have any information at this time. Possibly it is available in the MID. Where is the train now, and when will it arrive in Moscow?

[Lapshin] The train has crossed the Soviet-Romanian border, and we expect that at 0950 tomorrow, at about 1000, we will be able to meet our friends and colleagues at the Kiev Station.

[Gurnov] Thank you very much. I would like to reiterate that our "Evening Talk" with the head of the Romania Department of the USSR MID was conducted by our correspondent Aleksandr Poklad.

Diplomat on Soviet Aid

TA2612155989 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1527 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Ankara (A.A)—A Soviet Embassy counsellor in Ankara, Vladimir Georgiyev, said Tuesday that his country, despite its economic problems, would extend economic assistance to Romania and that Romania's demands would be taken into consideration immediately.

In a press conference in the capital, Georgiyev said that his country was ready to promote active relations with every country and that Romania was a friendly neighbor of the Soviet Union.

He went on to say that the Soviet Union had given guarantees to the new Romanian Administration that it will fulfill all economic undertakings agreed previously and that any other additional request would be considered immediately.

Georgiyev said that "for the time being" medical assistance was being supplied to Romania from Ukraine, Moldavia and Russia and that the USSR was preparing a 6,000 bed hospital on the Romanian border to cure those wounded in the recent disturbing events in Romania.

Pointing out that blood transfusion centers had also been established along the border, Georgiyev said that many Soviet doctors were arriving from many regions at the Romanian-Soviet border following information received on the total number of injuries in Romania.

Asked why the Soviet Union has not so far responded to the call fo military assistance by the Romanian National Salvation Front, he said that their official records say no such demand has been made.

Even if such a demand does come, our government will review it very meticulously because according to the Soviet principle, each people has to determine its own fate and no one should intervene from outside.

He described the execution of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena as behavior unsuitable in the 20th Century.

Kishinev Rally Held on Romanian Events

PM2612193789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov dispatch: "Rally in Kishinev"]

[Text] Kishinev—Thousands of citizens gathered Sunday [24 December] in the central square of the Moldavian capital. The democratic revolution in Romania is agitating Moldavians. Many of those who came to the square have relatives, acquaintances, and friends living beyond the Prut River, people who have personally experienced the burdens of the Ceausescu regime, which has distorted the essence of the very concept of socialism. Concern for the future fate of the country, a thirst for new and exhaustive information on the events, and a desire to help those who have suffered have evoked a strong upsurge of emotions among the inhabitants of Moldavia.

P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, answered questions for 2 hours from the platform, and for as long again was surrounded by citizens. The frank conversation was devoted not only to the dramatic events across the Prut but also to acute problems in the life of Moldavia itself, and, of course, to the prospects of expanding mutual relations with Romania.

The rally was addressed by people's deputies and leaders of informal social organizations. Collections of money, clothing, food, and medicines for fraternal Romania were organized. Dozens of volunteers went straight from the square to load railroad cars and refrigerated trucks which will take produce across the border.

Moldavian Deputy Hails Ceausescu Downfall

LD2312115489 Moscow TASS in English 2330 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Sympathy, interest and anxiety are the words that describe most precisely the feelings Soviet people's deputies expressed when talking about the events in Romania to Soviet television during recess.

Moldavia takes the developments in Romania close to heart as the two peoples have much in common—we have a single culture, the same language and traditions, many Moldavians have relatives in Romania, said Petr Luchinskiy, Moldavian Communist Party chief.

It is clear now that democratisation processes sweeping across all socialist countries have reached Romania, he stressed. The only thing that distresses every one of us, Moldavian deputies, is the use of force that, most grievously, resulted in numerous casualties. Judging by reports from Moldavia, the news (of the downfall of Ceausescu) was met with jubilation there, the party chief said. Some people have voiced extreme opinions, which, in the opinion of our delegation, could hamper the processes under way in Romania, he said.

The latest events in Romania have shown that an overwhelming majority of people in that country were opposed to the regime of Ceausescu, who repeatedly compromised not only himself but our entire socialist community, people's Deputy Mavrik Vulfson (Estonia) said. I am proud that my country has set an example of restructuring that inspired the Romanian people to take the action they did, the deputy said. I am terribly upset because of the casualties that occurred during the early phases of this struggle.

"I am sending my greetings to all my friends and brothers in the Romanian Orthodox Church," Metropolitan Piterim of Volokolamsk and Yuriev said. "I am doing this in the hope that the Orthodox Church, as always, will share all the hardships through which the nation is passing at a critical time and will support the people spiritually," he said.

Commentary Views Changes in East Europe

LD2412210689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Dec 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Political Observer Igor Kudrin]

[Text] Hello comrades. There are opinions which have been confirmed by many years of practice—opinions to the effect that, on the eve of the Christmas holidays, international life, as it were, seems to pale and political passions calm down for a while. The past week has totally refuted these observations which have been tested by time, so to speak. A cathartic storm continues to thunder over Eastern Europe, bringing the peoples of the socialist countries a new, fresh and wholesome atmosphere. Unlike the bloodless—as someone has said—gentle revolutions in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the GDR, the path to democracy in Romania this week has passed through a popular insurgency. Tardiness with changes which had become due has led to destruction and numerous casualties. The situation in the country remains, in many respects, unclear and contradictory. It might change significantly even during the 45 minutes of our program. So we will await the latest reports from Soviet correspondents in Bucharest who will also, in the end, have their say.

For the time being one thing is clear, however. The long years of stagnation, which were officially called the golden Ceausescu era in Romania, have reached their logical conclusion. One of our Western colleagues, in a search for imagery, has described these changes as an earthquake in the camp of socialism. It is a mistaken comparison because the malevolent elemental forces of nature bring destruction and death. The processes of renewal in the fraternal countries, like our perestroyka, are being deliberately conducted by the peoples in the name of creativity, life, and happiness, although in some respects things are indeed breaking up; state structures

are undergoing radical changes and not only individual failed leaders, but whole parties, too, are parting with their customary authority. New laws are being adopted, cities and streets are being renamed, institutional procedures, rules, and conventions are passing into oblivion and being radically changed, from the holding of party forums to the abolition of outmoded school programs and even the special servicemen's drill steps which evokes unpleasant associations in people. Communists will now have to do a great deal of work to regain not only the ranks of comrades who have left but also the prestige and authority among the people which have been lost.

Overwhelming transformations always conceal a certain risk, especially when people who are too impatient—those who panic and adventurists—join in the process of changes. I must confess that certain factors put me on my guard and distress me. In some places in Czechoslovakia, people are in a hurry to dismiss Communists from their work and to drive out of sight the slogan which is familiar to every inhabitant about friendship with our country. In Warsaw certain persons and groups are attempting to ascribe all their troubles and errors to the Soviet Union. And when memorials to Lenin are dismantled there is a long-term calculation of dismantling the whole system. In Bulgaria some groups already find the red color of banners and the sight of the five-pointed star bothersome. A new and humane society can scarcely be built with such sentiments of vindictiveness and bitterness. It goes without saying that the process of purification is a difficult and complex one everywhere, but it is already irreversible. The process is giving rise to sympathy everywhere, including the understanding of the leaders of the Western world. If nothing else, this fact is evidence of that. Last week the German Democratic Republic alone was visited by two highly placed guests at one time: Helmut Kohl, the FRG chancellor, and Francois Mitterrand, the French president. They supported the course which the republic is taking toward reform and voiced their commitment to peaceful and stable development in the GDR. In the course of their talks with Hans Modrow, the head of government and most popular political figure in the country today, important accords were reached on economic cooperation, among other matters.

GDR-FRG Border Loses Martial Character

LD2712110589 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin 27/12/ TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Berlin (ADN)—"The border between the two German states has lost its martial character, but it remains the border between the two biggest and best armed military coalitions in the world," the GDR daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND said on Wednesday.

It pointed out that the European continent had the highest concentration of armed forces and armaments, including the most dangerous of all mass annihilation means.

"The common European home is, however, not to be a citadel with embrasures, powder magazines and missile fences, but a peaceful home without weapons. The breath-taking speed of political changes make greater strides to disarmament not only possible, but also necessary, naturally on the basis of equality and equal security," the daily added.

"Never has the opportunity been so favourable for creating peace with ever fewer weapons. Therefore 1990 must become the year of disarmament, the year of substantial progress in the European security process and a German-German community of treaties," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND said.

BCP Plenum Proposes 'Roundtable' Meetings

LD2712095689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, 27 Dec (TASS)—The issue of implementing a new policy approved by a plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, which was held on 11-13 December 1989, of open, constructive, and honest dialogue with all the socio-political forces in the country in the interests of building Bulgaria as a modern democratic socialist state, are being examined at a session of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo which has taken place here.

The Politburo has made a decision to propose holding a meeting of leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and of the ruling parties, in order to analyze the situation that has taken shape in the country and to discuss the pressing problems and measures for the development of perestroyka in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It has also been proposed to the leadership of the informal and independent social structures and movements that they should hold "roundtable" consultations on the basic issues of perestroyka. It is suggested that these consultations should be carried out with the representatives of the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Youth Communist League, the Bulgarian Women's Committee, and other public movements and organizations.

The Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo suggests holding the meetings immediately after the new year celebrations have ended.

Shevardnadze, CSSR Counterpart on Troop Pullout

PM2212144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] A meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister J. Dienstbier was held 20 December in Moscow.

During a frank and substantive conversation, the state and future development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations were examined in light of the changes taking place in the world and the reforms being implemented in both countries. Opinions were exchanged on a number of international problems.

The sides agreed that the time has come for a qualitative renewal of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in all spheres with the aim of increasing its effectiveness. The importance was stressed of preserving allied links within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, which continues to remain a necessary factor in providing security for the member states and stability on the continent. It was noted that pooling efforts in the profound restructuring both of bilateral economic relations and of the mechanism of cooperation within the framework of CEMA is in the interests of the peoples of both countries.

The opinion was expressed that the current process of cleansing bilateral relations of negative accretions from the past will promote their greater openness and the further strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Agreement was reached to begin talks on Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory in the first half of January 1990. The sides agreed that problems connected with the 1968 events must be carefully investigated with the participation of historians from both countries.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that their views on basic international questions coincide. It was noted that the trend to reduce confrontation in the international arena is creating favorable conditions for expanding East-West relations.

The sides advocated increasing the level of security by reducing conventional armed forces, reducing and subsequently eliminating tactical nuclear weapons, and adopting a new generation of confidence-building measures with the aim of strengthening positive changes in the all-European process. A conference in Vienna between the foreign ministers of the CSCE countries, which would promote the search for mutually acceptable solutions to the problems discussed, could be an important impetus to the successful conclusion of the Vienna talks. A common understanding of the importance of developing constructive contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in order to strengthen the structure of security and cooperation within the framework of the all-European process was expressed. The Soviet side stressed the great significance of the Czechoslovak foreign policy initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and security in central Europe.

The conversation confirmed the desire of the USSR and Czechoslovakia for the further development of bilateral collaboration and the deepening of cooperation in the international arena.

J. Dienstbier invited E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Unionists View Market Economy in Poland, USSR

PM1112102889 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 12 Nov 89 pp 69, 71

[Wlodek Goldkorn roundtable with Warsaw Solidarity Chairman Zbigniew Bujak and Lithuanian People's Deputy Kazimiras Ouka; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Goldkorn] What can Solidarity teach the Soviet free trade unions that are currently emerging?

Bujak: We have hitherto had few opportunities to talk together. I believe that the most important topic is the privatization of the economy and the introduction of the free market.

Uoka: I would like to say straight away that you Solidarity people already have a long period of suffering and struggles behind you. We, however, still have to face this. The main problem, however, is how to fight the Moscow dragon. After all, it is there that the future of Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and all the other countries subject to Soviet domination is determined.

Bujak: I believe that in this regard Gorbachev must be taken at his word. When the Kremlin leader says that he wants to build a common European home, then we must start building it ourselves. The common home is mainly concerned with "grand politics," however. But I wonder what the trade unions have to say about it. I see many problems. I would therefore like to tell you about our great and beautiful experience with Solidarity. Within our trade union workers, teachers, engineers, and writers came together and came to know one another. The doctor would recount his professional problems to the worker and the teacher. This is extremely important for an emergent trade union because it facilitates integration among different people. Now the same method must be applied to meetings between trade unionists of the various countries of the Soviet bloc.

Uoka: In Lithuania a similar structure exists, but it is not a trade union but Sajudis, our national movement. As for Gorbachev, yes, we do take him at his word, but he is not our principal reference point in Moscow. Our reference point is the interregional group of deputies in the Supreme Soviet. It is still small, but it is a very important movement. But let us return to the question of privatization of industrial enterprises. It would be a major step forward in the right direction, but it would entail many difficulties. The first of these is the threat of unemployment. On the other hand, however, in Lithuania Sajudis has sufficient authority to persuade people to work as much as 12 hours a day for low pay.

Bujak: In our country appeals to the people no longer work. We did it only once, before martial law eight years

ago. Now, however, we have to explain to the workers the correlation between productivity and pay. It will be the market, not patriotic feeling, that prompts people to work harder.

Uoka: In our country, too. Indeed we are about to introduce a law to transform state enterprises into limited companies. Longer-serving employees will be entitled to own shares and will thus become the masters of the enterprise.

Bujak: Look, the difficulties are huge. The first stems from the fact that in the USSR the profession of notary does not exist. So how will you register enterprises' sales and purchase transactions? The second, which we share, is this: How to distribute shares. Why give them only to the enterprise's workers, since the enterprise is the property of the whole of society? Why should the doctor who treats the workers not also be a shareholder in the enterprise? Third: What to do with the distributed shares. Keep them at home in a drawer? That would mean the freezing of capital. So we need to create a stock exchange. The envisaged solution is to sell shares on the stock exchange, while ensuring that a certain percentage of them will be distributed to workers at a lower price.

Uoka: Meanwhile, however, we are starting to privatize small enterprises. Moreover, the situation in the countryside in Lithuania is not bad. So I believe that if all goes well, in about 10 years' time Lithuania could be a normal and prosperous country. But everyone will have to work harder.

Bujak: So do you seriously want to introduce a 12-hour working day?

Uoka: It will be tough. But we will succeed. I realize that a situation where all the trade unions are urging sacrifices is paradoxical. But let us remember that even in the West it is the unions that want greater emphasis on the market and less on the state and that cooperate with employers that have prevailed. Our concern is rather different. Unless we succeed in introducing privatization very soon, trade and services are in danger of creating a state of profiteering wheeler-dealers, as has already happened in Poland.

Bujak: Yours is a rather idealistic stance. Of course it is necessary to move in this direction. But it is also necessary to know whether it is an unending process. Creating equal opportunities really is the major task facing a democracy. Be that as it may, in my opinion the main problem in Poland today is not the struggle against profiteers, but that against those who hold the monopoly on the production of the various goods and on commerce.

Uoka: I am very afraid of everything's returning to the way it was before, of the democratization processes' coming to an end. I have the impression, judging from the Kremlin, that Gorbachev does not know what to do right now, that our democratic forces are not yet ready to take power. Basically I am afraid that we are all sitting on a powder keg that could explode any moment.

Correction to Walesa on Reforms

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Poland's Walesa: Pluralistic Reforms Necessary," published in the 22 December issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 20:

last paragraph, from last sentence should read: ...process of transformations.

As the Polish statesman noted, people in the USSR who wish for fast changes are not taking into account the dimensions of the country and in this way are making a mistake. He highly evaulated Mikhail Gorbachev's role, calling him "a man of huge talent".

The "Solidarity" leader stressed that the process of political and economic transformations which have unfolded in the USSR and Poland demand an exchange of experience between both countries.

"The more fraternal our relations, the more successfully work will progress," he said.

Appraising the current situation in Poland, Lech Walesa noted that although Polish society has moved a long way forward in the sphere of political and democratic transformations, the main difficulties today are in the weakness of the economy.

Answering a question about his attitude toward socialism, Lech Walesa said that he is in favor of a model for society which combine the spiritual values of the current system with the effectiveness of the Western economy. (supplying additional passage)

West Europe

Austrian Socialists Denounce Invasion of Panama

LD2212070989 Moscow TASS in English 0654 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna December 22 TASS—The U.S. invasion of Panama runs counter to all norms of international law and is a gross violation of the United Nations charter, Austrian Socialist Party expert and Austrian parliament deputy Peter Jankowitsch said on Thursday.

The action taken under the pretext of the "Restoration of democracy" is completely inadmissible from the point of view of the Austrian Socialist Party and other member-parties of the Socialist International.

Austrian socialists denounce attempts of the Bush Administration to return to "the policy of interventionism and gunboat diplomacy," Jankowitsch said. He demanded that the U.S. troops be immediately withdrawn from Panama and free elections be held under the aegis of the U.N. or the organisation of American states.

Spanish Reporter's Killing in Panama Protested

LD2312062389 Moscow TASS in English 0231 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Madrid December 23 TASS—Nearly 500 Spanish reporters downed tools of their profession—cameras and other appliances—at the entrance to the U.S. Embassy compound in Madrid. Representatives of the media staged a protest at the U.S. Embassy and voiced indignation at the killing by U.S. military of photoreporter of the newspaper EL PAIS in Panama Juan Antonio Rodriguez. A minute of silence was observed to commemorate the colleague.

"Yankee go home", journalists chanted in front of the U.S. Embassy, guarded by police reinforcements.

The Spanish National Association of Photoreporters handed over to the U.S. Ambassador to Spain a statement demanding an immediate end to the United States armed aggression against Panama and an investigation into the circumstances of the death of Juan Antonio Rodriguez who performed his professional duty in Panama, Spanish reporters demanded that those guilty of the crime be punished with all severity.

A protest demonstration was staged by reporters and photocorrespondents in front of the U.S. Consulate building in Barcelona.

MiG Crash Paid For, NATO Action Urged

PM2212113989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 16

[B. Moskvichev report: "Incident Dealt With, But Problems Remain"]

[Text] The Soviet side has fully compensated the damage caused by the crash of a Soviet MiG-23M aircraft in July this year in the region of Kortrijk, a spokesman for the Belgian Foreign Ministry has said. Let us remind you that on 4 July a MiG-23M which took off from the military airfield at Kolobrzeg in Poland was abandoned by the Soviet pilot, who detected malfunctions in the engine.

Only by good fortune were more serious consequences avoided, as the fighter aircraft could have reached the industrial zone of Lille in France, close to Kortrijk. In a joint operation with the Belgians, the deciphering of the aircraft's "black box" recordings has shown that the Soviet pilot acted strictly in accordance with instructions, which has made it possible to clear him of all blame.

Reporting that the Soviet Union has fully complied with the Belgian side's demands, the Belgian newspapers note that the sum of 25 million Belgian francs will be used to cover the moral and material damage caused to the Belgian family affected, as well as the expenses incurred by transporting the fragments of the Soviet fighter aircraft.

The incident has been dealt with, financial satisfaction established and paid. But the question of drafting measures to prevent similar incidents in the future and creating a mechanism of notification between the two military blocs remains unresolved. The proposal put forward by the Soviet side has so far failed to produce any reaction from NATO headquarters.

Latin America & Caribbean

Continuing Reportage on Events in Panama

Negotiations Over Noriega's Destiny

LD2612151889 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City December 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Eldar Abdullayev:

For the first time over the past few days there were no sounds of firing in the Panamanian capital last night.

The city is controlled by units of U.S. troops and local self-defence units.

Stores do not function. Must of them have been looted by bands of criminals. State institutions and banks are closed.

Many hope, though, that after the Christmas holidays, a number of civil servants will start working.

The district in the Panamanian capital where the papal nuncio's residence is situated has been sealed off by tanks and armoured carriers. Army patrols blocked the adjoining streets. Helicopters are hovering over many buildings. Former Panamanian leader General Noriega has been given asylum in the Papal Nunciature.

A U.S. lieutenant-colonel in the seal-off mission told TASS that the blockage will be continued until it is called off by the Pentagon.

All through the night and this morning, the papal nuncio, representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Panama and some Western diplomats continued the negotiations in the Nunciature. Later they were joined by General Maxwell Thurman, commander of the United States Southern Command.

It has already been reported that General Noriega asked Spain for political asylum.

Third Country Considered

LD2712113689 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Panama City December 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev:

The situation in Panama City returned to normal on Tuesday, and skirmishes stopped in the Panamanian capital.

It is reported that another pocket of resistance was quashed in Los Santos Province Tuesday night. U.S. troops are still meeting resistance in some areas of Chiriqui province.

The curfew is still in force in the capital, and there is a shortage of food and medicines. Thousands of residents, who feared aerial bombing and fled from their homes to the Panama Canal Zone, are now going hungry. Infectious diseases are spreading among them.

According to foreign diplomats, Americans conduct mass secret burials of dead civilians.

Reinforced patrols have sealed off the Vatican Nunciature where General Noriega took refuge. Talks are in progress there between Vatican representatives, U.S. diplomats and the Southern Command to seal Noriega's destiny.

A Nunciature representative told TASS that there is a possibility of sending Noriega to a third country. The Southern Command insists on his extradition to the United States.

The Pentagon issued orders to U.S. troops to arrest Noriega as soon as he leaves the Nunciature.

U.S. troops continue blocking the Cuban, Nicaraguan and Libyan Embassies. According to unconfirmed reports, patrols are in front of the Mexican Embassy where Noriega's close aides are in hiding.

The new Panamanian cabinet held its first meeting. The ministers examined ways of rehabilitating the economy.

Panamanian First Vice-President and Interior Minister Arias Calderon said after the meeting that all the mass media in the country would be closely controlled by the new authorities in the interests of public security, until the political and military situation fully returns to normal.

Deputy Minister Meets U.S. Ambassador

LD2612183189 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

They discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, specifically, ways to solve the Cambodian problem.

Panama Invasion Raised

LD2612183389 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today received the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, Jack Matlock, at his request.

The U.S. side raised the issue of the U.N. discussion of the American military invasion of Panama.

The ambassador was told that Washington's intervention violates fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter and standards of inter-state relations, and no motives advanced by the American side can justify the incursion.

Reactions to Developments in Panama Reported

Bush Cited on Troops

LD2212234689 Moscow TASS in English 2205 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Washington December 23 TASS—President George Bush has made it clear that the U.S. troops which invaded Panama will stay there as long as Washington needs.

The head of the administration sent a message to the Congress Friday, saying that "although organised opposition has ceased, it is not possible at this time to predict the precise scope and duration of the military operations or how long the temporary increase of U.S. forces in Panama will be required."

"Our additional forces will remain in Panama as long as their presence is required," the president's message says.

Bush's message was sent to Congress in accordance with the war powers resolution under which the president has to notify the Congress within 48 hours about the use of U.S. military force beyond the United States boundaries.

Bush justified the U.S. military invasion of Panama and said that Washington's action was undertaken to protect the lives and welfare of American citizens and to guarantee the continued safe operation of the Panama canal.

Baker, Cheney Cited

PM2612194789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by A. Blinov in Washington, A. Shalnev in New York, and M. Kozhukhov in Moscow: "Invasion of Panama Planned Long Ago"]

[Text] According to reports from Panama, U.S. troops have surrounded the Papal Nunciature—the Vatican's mission in that country. It has become known that the Panamanian military leader General M. Noriega, who has asked the Vatican for political asylum, is being sheltered there.

According to eyewitness accounts, Noriega drove up to the gate of the mission in a car and walked alone toward the building. The invasion force command did not expect Noriega to try to seek refuge at the nunciature and there were no troops patrolling the adjoining streets.

According to R. Cheney, U.S. secretary of defense, who has flown to Panama to inspect the U.S. troops, efforts

are under way in the United States to obtain the extradition of Noriega and hand him over to a U.S. court to face charges of drug trafficking. Meanwhile, G. Endara, the new Panamanian president, has declared that his government intends to observe the country's Constitution, which bans the extradition of defendants to courts in other states. So far, Juan Laboa, the papal nuncio, also does not intend to hand over the general, who has turned himself in, to the U.S. legal authorities. According to a REUTER report, the Vatican mission has been surrounded by a large crowd of Panamanians chanting "Noriega—murderer!"

At least 200 wounded U.S. servicemen have been transferred from Panama to the United States, mainly to the large military hospital at San Antonio. The military authorities are trying to prevent contacts between them and journalists. However, where such interviews have taken place, the GIs have admitted that the order for an upcoming "dangerous mission" was received at military bases earlier than President Bush is said to have made the decision to invade according to the official version.

Newspapers point out that in fact the operation was in preparation for a long time. After the unsuccessful attempt at a military coup in October, preparations for an invasion were placed on a practical footing and have cost the CIA around $3 million to date. Subsequently it was recognized that only a large-scale invasion aimed at routing Panama's National Defense Forces could guarantee success. This scheme was approved in outline by the Chiefs of Staff back in November.

How long will U.S. troops stay in Panama? "As long as is necessary to finish the job," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said during an NBC program Sunday [24 December].

Two circumstances attract attention in the utterances of Baker and Defense Secretary Cheney: First, the fact that the secretary of state has leveled criticism against the OAS, which, as is known, has expressed profound regret at operation "Just Cause." Baker presented the situation as if it had been the OAS which had brought about the invasion. If the organization had taken all the political and economic measures against Noriega which the United States demanded, the head of the State Department said, "we would probably not be where we are today."

And second, the defense secretary has hinted rather transparently that the new Panamanian president should be deeply grateful to the U.S. Administration. "The fact that Endara is president today," Cheney said, "is a direct result of President Bush's decision to intervene in Panama."

The U.S. command is maintaining silence on casualties among the civilian population; however, judging by appearances, they far exceed military losses. The capital's working class suburbs have suffered serious damage as a result of the U.S. air raids and artillery barrages. The city's hospitals are crowded with the injured, who are not receiving medical assistence because of the lack of skilled staff and medicines.

E. Moss, a prominent U.S. diplomat and former ambassador to Panama, writes in THE NEW YORK TIMES that the invasion of Panama raises a number of serious problems for the United States, such as the need to maintain a long presence on the occupied territory, to bear the cost of economic reconstruction, and to counter the negative reaction in the world to the "old-fashioned intervention."

All this, Moss believes, is cause for "sober reflection on the eve of the New Year" rather than the self-congratulation characteristic of the current mood in Washington.

Supreme Soviet Committee Statement

PM2212221589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

["Statement by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The Soviet public greeted with great alarm the report of the invasion of Panama by U.S. troops.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs regards that action as a gross violation of the UN Charter and of the norms of international law. These actions run counter to the favorable processes which have become apparent in international affairs and to the growing trust taking shape in relations among states. The action against Panama has been undertaken at a time when, thanks to the new thinking, the possibility of building relations on the principles of universally recognized norms of conduct has been opened up before the world.

No motives advanced by the U.S. side can serve to justify this invasion.

We advocate the immediate cessation of armed interference in the affairs of sovereign Panama.

Army Daily Scores U.S. 'Aggression'

PM2212132589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain S. Sidorov "Military-Political Commentary": "Gambling on Force"]

[Text] The direct U.S. armed aggression against Panama, the possibility of which was widely discussed, but the inevitability of which was, to be perfectly honest, not regarded as very likely, has become a reality. The UN Charter and generally accepted norms of interstate relations have been blatantly flouted. By staging an aggression against minute Panama, the United States has behaved like an odious colonial power of the last century.

In an effort to justify itself in front of the world public for invading the territory of a sovereign state, the White House has declared that it was necessary "to protect the lives of U.S. citizens and restore the democratic process in Panama" and so forth. However, this is no more than a smokescreen intended to cover up the true causes of the armed operation. They consist mainly of U.S. unwillingness to lose control over the Panama Canal. This arterial waterway plays an enormous role in the Pentagon's geostrategic plans. However, as a result of the development of events, the United States was forced to agree to hand over the canal to full Panamanian jurisdiction by the year 2000. The true objective of the U.S. aggression against Panama is to thwart this process.

With the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, the United States began to lose the reins of power in the region. The independent policy of the new leadership of one of Central America's key countries infuriated Washington officialdom. With the aim of removing the Sandinistas from power, all possible tactics of applying pressure, including military pressure, were used. As a result, the stock has risen sharply of the U.S. Armed Forces' Southern Command bases located in the Panama Canal zone and used as a staging post for the transportation of arms to the Nicaraguan Contras, and, should the need arise, also as a convenient bridgehead for direct aggression against any unsuitable regime.

As long as General Noriega, commander-in-chief of Panama's National Defense Forces behaved as the No. 1 U.S. ally and did not hamper Washington in conducting its anti-Sandinist policy, U.S.-Panamanian relations were relatively close. However, in 1987, shortly after the exposure of the U.S. "Iran-Contras" affair, a crack appeared. There is information that J. Poindexter, former national security adviser to the U.S. President, in a personal interview with Noriega demanded that Panamanian territory be provided for an intervention against Nicaragua and that this demand was categorically refused. At the same time, Panama began to implement an active policy in support of progressive movements in Central America.

It was in this context that the military option, which ultimately led to overt aggression, was adopted in Washington. Essentially, Panama became the proving ground for rehearsing the tactics of stifling unsuitable regimes in the course of the implementation of global military-strategic objectives in the new international conditions which have changed considerably since the U.S. aggression in Grenada in 1983. The latest "triumph" may yet prove to be a Pyrrhic victory. The "success" of the operation in Panama will undoubtedly play into the hands of the advocates of the implementation of a hardline policy in respect to "dissident countries." This sort of game is fraught with the danger of getting "power drunk." And, as to where this will lead America—that remains a subject for conjecture. This is precisely why the U.S. aggression in Panama must be most resolutely condemned by the international community.

Intervention a 'Historical Episode'

PM2612221789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA Political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint" commentary: "Santa Claus With a Submachine Gun"]

[Excerpts] Quite recently it seemed that the world had gotten used to states resorting to force whenever they want to achieve their aims, dispatching gunboats to foreign shores and hurling detachments of marines against sovereign countries. However, the time of great changes which we are experiencing has thrown a new light on the nature of events. And something that quite recently seemed all but natural is perceived as fundamentally unacceptable.

Reading reports about the U.S. military intervention in Panama evokes complex feelings. [passage omitted]

Hardly anyone is likely to be misled by U.S. officials' statements to the effect that the invasion was carried out "to protect the lives of U.S. citizens" and "to restore democracy" in that country. No, what we see is an elementary military intervention and a blatant violation of the fundamental UN principles and elementary norms of international law. It is no accident that the U.S. actions are being condemned by the world public. They have been sharply criticized both at the United Nations, at the Security Council session, and at an OAS conference, where 20 delegates voted for a resolution condemning the invasion and only 1, the U.S. delegate, voted against it.

Why did the Bush Administration undertake all this? In order to thwart the handing over of the canal to the Panamanians in the year 2000 as envisaged by the 1977 U.S.-Panamanian treaties? In order to appease the U.S. right-wing, dissatisfied with the White House's readiness to conclude new arms reduction agreements and to exercise circumspection in Europe? The answers to these questions are probably to be found in the stenographic records of National Security Council sessions, the president's supreme consultative body, but the council's protocols are not published, despite the Americans' commitment to democracy. Whatever it was that prompted Washington to take this step, its latest "small but brilliant victory" in Latin America is no jewel in the U.S. crown.

What is this—"back to the future," in the words of the U.S. movie title? Once again reliance on assault landing detachments, tanks, and bombers, once again the toppling of inconvenient governments and their replacement by more suitable ones? No, I do not believe that such a reversal in world politics will take place. Much has already been achieved in building a nonviolent, safe world. Europe is undergoing tumultuous changes which are essentially progressive. The Soviet Union is consistently implementing a policy dictated by the ideas of the

new thinking. The perestroyka of the world will continue. And as for the relapse into interventionism displayed by the United States, it will remain a historical episode which does no honor to that great country.

USSR To 'Forget' Panama Invasion

LD2712054189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer Ashot Nasibov] The U.S. Administration has chosen an extremely favorable moment for invading Panama, favorable in the sense of Soviet reaction to it. Now when Soviet-U.S. relations are on the upswing, it seems that we cannot respond in due manner to this flagrant violation of all international rules in order not to undermine the development of ties between the Soviet Union and the United States. I think that the United States understands this very well and simply gives no heed to the loud statements from Moscow, which are, however, nothing more than mere statements. From my personal point of view, it looks like we are sacrificing Panama for the sake of preserving existing Soviet-U.S. ties. It appears that after some time we will forget about the invasion of Panama the same way we forgot right away about the suppression of Chinese students' protests at Tiananmen Square which left hundreds, if not thousands, dead. We have forgotten about it, for it occurred during an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Blockade of Cuban Embassy 'Crude Violation'

LD2612145189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Dec (TASS)—The actions of U.S. Armed Forces regarding the Cuban Embassy in Panama represent a crude violation of the generally accepted norms of international law, stated Sergey Ordzhonikidze, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Law Directorate, at a briefing today. He was commenting on a TASS report from Panama according to which an officer of the 2d Batallion of the 82d U.S. Airborne Division had stated that he had an order to continue to blockade the building and to arrest any Cuban diplomat who leaves the residence.

Current documents in international law, stressed Sergey Ordzhonikidze, envisage the inviolability of diplomatic missions' premises and of their personnel, even in the event of armed conflict.

Under the 1961 Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations, to which both Cuba and the United States as well as other countries are parties, full diplomatic immunity is extended to the ambassador's residence and premises belonging to diplomatic missions.

In this connection, the Soviet diplomat pointed out that the order received by the U.S. servicemen who are blockading the Cuban Embassy to arrest any Cuban diplomat who tries to leave it directly contradicts that document. According to the wording of Article 29 of the convention, "a diplomatic agent has personal immunity. He is not liable to arrest or any form of detention".

Report on Stealth Bomber Use

LD2412114889 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Washington December 24 TASS—The U.S. Air Force for the first time used their supersecret F-117A Stealth fighter bomber in combat conditions.

The new plane, "invisible" to radars, took part in a bombing raid in Panama before the landing of American troops there on Wednesday, THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper reported.

Pete Williams, an official spokesman for the Pentagon, confirmed the newspaper's report Saturday night, declining to say how many such planes were involved in the operation.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, there were at least two of them. Another several F-117A Stealth aircraft were alerted for a possible participation in the raid.

Before dawn, the Stealth fighter bombers, undetected by Panamanian radars, reached the area of the location of the barracks of the 6th and 7th Infantry Companies of the country's national defence forces and began to bomb the area near the barracks.

Williams said the aim was not to bomb the barracks themselves. The purpose of the bombing raid was to prevent Panamanian forces from preparing for defence before the landing of American troops. The mission was accomplished "successfully", the Pentagon spokesman emphasised.

However, other U.S. Administration officials, who asked not to be identified, told THE WASHINGTON POST that the purpose of the mission of the F-117A was to bomb those places where Panamanian leader Noriega could be on the night of the attack.

If that was the mission, which Williams denied, then the first combat mission of the F-117A ended in failure, the newspaper pointed out.

There are about 60 Stealth fighter bombers with the U.S. Air Force. They make flights only at night to avoid being photographed from Soviet satellites, THE WASHINGTON POST pointed out. Several Stealth aircraft crashed. The production of F-117A was discontinued owing to their huge cost.

TASS Correspondent Describes Scene

PM2212120789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 p 3

[Telephone conversation between Eldar Abdullayev, TASS correspondent in Panama, and reporter Yu. Stroyev in Moscow on 21 December, under rubric "Hot Spot": "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Calling

Panama: Aggression Against Panama Showed that United States Continues To Bank on Force in International Relations"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Stroyev] What are the forecasts for the immediate future?

[Abdullayev] A United Patriotic Resistance Front is now being created in the country at the government's initiative, comprising subunits of the National Defense Forces remaining loyal to General Noriega, "Dignity" and National Guard [zashchity otechestva] battalions, trade unions, and mass public organizations. Nobody knows where the general himself is. True enough, Noriega delivered a radio address to the nation, noting the courageous struggle waged by Panamanians against the aggression and calling on the international community to strengthen its solidarity with Panama, to give it moral support, and to demand of the United States an immediate end to this insane war.

The U.S. protege Guillermo Endara is expected to arrive in the capital within the next few hours to be enthroned and to create what the Americans call "a new democratic government." It is to be expected that the Americans will succeed in establishing control over the Panamanian capital, with all access to it blocked. However, resistance will continue in the provinces and will build up. The United States might well bring even 100,000 of its soldiers, but it will be incapable of controlling the entire country. It will get bogged down in this adventure, end up with a "second Vietnam," and begin an exhausting bloody war. There is no question that this is an irresponsible adventurous action by the United States, an admission that its plan for economic, political, diplomatic, and psychological pressure on the republic has failed.

[Stroyev] Eldar, we know that there are Soviet people working and living in Panama....

[Abdullayev] There are approximately 17 families and about 150 Soviet women married to Panamanians. We are all alive and well. Of course, additional precautionary measures have been taken, we have stocked up with water and food. But we already envisage complications, seeing that stores are closed and nobody has any bread. Everybody asks that people should not worry, and they send their greetings to the motherland.

Newspaper Profiles Manuel Noriega

PM2212135989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[S. Meshcheryakov "Political Portrait": "General Noriega"]

[Excerpts] General Manuel Antonio Noriega was the de facto head of Panama for 6 years. "He is a real satan," General Kelly of the United States believes. Others see Noriega wearing the halo of a martyr and as a victim of the northern neighbor's imperial policy.

For 6 years, this man held virtually complete sway in Panama. The president and parliament were just a screen behind which the general dictated the country's domestic and foreign policy. Undoubtedly, the commander in chief of the defense forces was guaranteed the broad support of nationalist-minded sections of the population by his Torrijista course aimed at achieving complete sovereignty over the Panama Canal. Under the Torrijos-Carter treaties signed in 1977, the canal was to be transferred to Panamanian control in 2000 and U.S. troops were to be evacuated. This was one of the main reasons why the White House was unhappy with Noriega.

However, that was not the only reason why the United States began to step up the pressure on Panama in 1987 and subsequently began introducing a whole series of economic and political sanctions. Some of the general's former comrades in arms testified to his involvement in the drugs business and his links with the well known Colombian "Medellin cartel." The United States demanded that the general be extradited to stand trial. It is said that when secret talks were being held in 1988 on the terms of Noriega's departure from the country (in that event the United States would not have prosecuted him) one of the drug barons sent the general a small coffin with the name Noriega on it.

At the same time, information began circulating about Noriega's past collaboration with the CIA, back when he was a student at military college, where he informed on comrades who held left-wing views. There are rumors that he didn't only work for Langley, which paid him around $200,000 a year in the early eighties. President Bush said recently that he tolerated Noriega's corruption during his time as director of the CIA. He tolerated it when the general suited the administration and it was prepared to close its eyes to his excesses. Noriega is also accused of supplying weapons to insurgent movements in Central America.

The anti-Panama campaign mounted by the United States, the growth of domestic opposition to the regime and its political isolation in the international arena, and the desire to retain power at all costs forced Noriega to resort to extreme measures.

UN Security Council Debates U.S. Presence in Panama

LD2212000989 Moscow TASS in English 2352 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] New York December 21 TASS—The United Nations Security Council resumed on Thursday the discussion of the United States armed intervention in Panama.

Speaking on behalf of a group of non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia's permanent representative Dragoslav Peic stated that non-aligned countries were shocked by the news of U.S. armed attack on Panama. The Non-aligned countries have always considered the use of force inadmissible, no matter what the rationalization.

We condemn the U.S. intervention that aims to trample down the sovereignty and independence of a small non-aligned state—Panama.

Especial anxiety is evoked by the fact that the intervention occurred at a moment of reduction of tension in international relations and during the period of time when the countries of the region are striving ever more persistently for settling disputes and achieving peace.

Serious objections are raised by the possibility to act in the interests of democracy by means of an outside armed intervention.

The Panamanian people must decide independently what government to have. Peic recalled that on Wednesday the non-aligned coordinating bureau resolutely condemned the U.S. intervention.

Contras React to Central American Summit

PY1812144289 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] I would like to point out that a portion of the San Isidro de Coronado Declaration calls for the demobilization of the Nicaraguan armed opposition. The Nicaraguan Government has confirmed its proposal that its opponents lay down their arms and return to Nicaragua before 5 February 1990 in order to participate in the elections set for 25 February. You must agree that these conditions are extremely advantageous to Nicaragua's armed opposition, since they allow it to enjoy their civic rights in their fatherland.

Furthermore, the Nicaraguan Government is willing to extend to the opposition all necessary guarantees. Shortly after the Costa Rican summit, contacts will begin between the Nicaraguan Government and the UN group of observers [word indistinct] International Support and Verification Commission [CIAV], to make sure that the demobilization is under international control.

The presidents of the five Central American nations have indicated that the so-called humanitarian aid that the armed opposition is getting should be channeled through the CIAV to finance the demobilization of the contras.

The first to air their opinion on the San Isidro de Coronado Accords were the contras. Their spokesman in Honduras, a self-styled Commander (Fulton), stated that the summit did not resolve any Central American problems at all. Furthermore, he accused the Nicaraguan Government of trying to stall for time.

I believe that the armed opposition is the one that is trying to stall for time and delay the demobilization. It would seem that this is in keeping with Washington's plans. Today [words indistinct] the White House spokesman dismissed the call that the five Central American presidents made for the demobilization of the contras. He said that the conditions were not appropriate for such demobilization.

This is a very strange attitude if one takes into account that the five presidents urged the parties involved to cooperate in bringing peace to this region.

Central American Summit Declaration Analyzed

PY1812151889 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] The San Isidro de Coronado Declaration signed at the recent Central American Summit shows that the five presidents displayed good will, a sense of responsibility, and the willingness to reach compromises acceptable to all parties in order to attain peace and stability in Central America.

The declaration, however, does not in itself guarantee that the quest for peace in Central America will proceed without a hitch. It is obvious that to achieve a stable peace in Central America, all nations involved in the conflict must fully comply with the commitments that they have undertaken.

The Central American presidents also concluded that any agreement will be even more difficult if it lacks international support. Undoubtedly, the peace initiatives of the United Nations and the OAS have had a positive influence on the search for ways and means for resolving the conflict.

During their Malta meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush discussed the Central American issue, among others. Despite certain disagreements, the two leaders agreed that a political solution had to be found to the conflict.

It is obvious that the two superpowers can and must play an important role in the quest for peace in Central America. I would like to stress that during the recent meeting of Central American presidents in Costa Rica, representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry and of the U.S. Department of State were able to meet. Needless to say, that was the first time a Soviet representative attended a Central American summit as an observer. The Soviet diplomat held a working meeting with officials of the Costa Rican Government and with members of delegations from other participating nations.

The Central American problem cannot be resolved with mere promises to comply with the principles of the political agreement. More than anything else, concrete deeds are required to show that the promises are for real.

The Soviet Union has called for the end to shipments of arms to Central American countries. It went a step further by unilaterally suspending shipments of materiel to Nicaragua. The Soviet Government believes that

similar steps by other countries and the termination of military assistance to irregular forces and rebel movements will help do away with this dangerous point of tension. At the same time, it seems that it would be a mistake to delay beginning talks on the reduction of troops and arms in Central American countries, as set forth in the Esquipulas II Accords.

The Soviet Union hailed the call for a summit meeting in Costa Rica. It feels that the results of this meeting have been positive. At the same time it believes that the Central Americans themselves must find the concrete ways and means of normalizing the situation in the region. However, if the Central American nations believe that they need help from other nations, those others must lend their support. This is stated in a recent declaration of the Soviet Government. We can only applaud the request that the five Central American presidents addressed to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, asking him to get in touch with extraregional states capable of helping bring peace to Central America as soon as possible.

Congress of People's Deputies

18 Dec Session Debates Constitutional Changes

PM2212104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Dec 89 Morning Edition pp 2-5

["Stenographic Report" of "Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies"—Transcript of 18 December morning session]

[Excerpt] Ninth Session

Kremlin Palace of Congresses, 1000 hours, 18 December 1989.

A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is in the chair.

Chairman: Comrade deputies! More than 1,800 deputies have been registered—we have a quorum. I declare the ninth sitting of the Congress of People's Deputies open.

As you will recall, on Saturday we finished discussing the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) on matters pertaining to the electoral system. The proposals from deputies, and there were quite a lot of them, have been carefully examined by the Editorial Commission set up by the congress to finalize the draft USSR law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) on matters of the electoral system. The commission worked throughout the day yesterday.

Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, chairman of the Editorial Commission, took the floor.

Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee (Lebedyanskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Lipetsk Oblast): Esteemed comrade deputies! Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov's report validates the need to make amendments and additions to the country's Basic Law on questions of the electoral system. The main aim of the amendments is to improve this system, make it more democratic, give the republics scope to independently determine various aspects of the electoral process, and provide optimal conditions in which popular initiative can be fully and freely expressed. This is the purpose of the opportunities incorporated in the draft law for the republics to decide for themselves questions of the future of okrug election meetings. The republics themselves now determine the procedure. Opportunities for young people have been widened and the right to nominate candidate people's deputies has been granted not only to labor collectives, but also to the collectives of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments. The latter, as is known, include both teachers and students. There is a whole series of other amendments and additions that affect 15 articles of the country's constitution.

The Editorial Commission, enlisting the assistance of academic lawyers and specialists in the field of constitutional law, carefully studied the comments and proposals contained in speeches and notes by 72 people's deputies. The exchange of opinions at the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the present Congress of People's Deputies, and their general tone indicate that the intended amendments to the country's Constitution are overdue and, moreover, are already partly being implemented in the union republics. The commission supports these approaches. At the same time, on the basis of deputies' proposals, the Editorial Commission deems it necessary to clarify certain points in the draft law. You have all been supplied with the text, which obviates the need for me to read out the editorial comments. I will just dwell on the most significant points.

No doubt you noticed that in Article 89 of the USSR Constitution the soviets of autonomous oblasts and okrugs are named immediately after autonomous republics' Supreme Soviets. We believe this measures to help strengthen the status and enhance the authority of autonomous oblasts and okrugs. It is proposed that Article 95 of the Constitution be clarified and set out as follows: "Elections of people's deputies are held in one-seat or multiseat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal equal and direct suffrage, by means of a secret ballot. Some USSR people's deputies and also, if so stipulated by republics' constitutions, a number of union and autonomous republics' people's deputies are elected from public organizations."

You will recall that this proposal was made by Deputies Neumyvakin, Angapov, Klochkov, Venediktov, and Guskov, deputies from Kazakhstan and Belorussia, and many others.

The constitutional legislation of a number of union republics already provides for the election of people's deputies directly from public organizations. The opinions voiced here, at the Congress, and the present-day constitutional regulation of the union republics are rather serious factors which we have no right to ignore when considering amendments and additions to the country's Constitution. The commission sees no point in reiterating the numerous arguments for and against representation of public organizations. All things considered, the congress demonstrates both the pluses and the minuses of this practice. In continuing the line of expanding the republics' independence, it is obviously advisable to establish a common age limit for candidate people's deputies. The existing USSR Constitution says that a USSR citizen can be elected a people's deputy at the age of 18. The proposed amendments enable the republics to raise the age—this has been done in some places. But the commission believes that the age should not be raised too high, so that soviets, particularly local soviets, are not deprived of an influx of young, fresh forces.

Now we come to the final clarification in this group. Would you please look at part five of Article 100. In the proposed version it enables enterprises, organizations, and individuals to give financial assistance to the elections. This effectively rubber-stamps an established

practice. But, at the same time, it should be stressed that the USSR Constitution specifies some very important conditions. It will be a single fund and it will be handled not by the candidate deputies, but by the relevant electoral commissions. The fund is supposed to ensure equal conditions for every candidate, therefore a citizen who voluntarily transfers money to the single fund has no right to indicate the specific candidate whose election campaign he supports.

Comrades, society and people's deputies are also keenly interested in legal questions of ownership, land arrangements, the status of the socialist enterprise, tax policy, the management of the economy, the demarcation of jurisdiction between the USSR and the republics, and others. The draft laws on this matter are in varying states of readiness. They provide for fundamentally new approaches to the solution of particular problems, which affect the sections of the country's Basic Law on economic and political systems and the national-state organization of the USSR. There are contradictions between the content of the draft laws and the corresponding provisions of the country's constitution.

What is one to do in this situation? Wait for the adoption of a new USSR Constitution? But it takes time to devise one, whereas the perestroyka processes and the need for changes are already knocking at the door. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, addressing the CPSU Central Committee December (1989) Plenum, drew attention to the possibility of a solution which we have already used in relation to the electoral system. The USSR Supreme Soviet approved the draft constitutional amendments on this question, on the basis of which the republics have started the relevant work.

We can also use this precedent for the purpose of accelerating the adoption of major draft laws on other topical issues that have already been named. Therefore, part 2 of the draft law suggests instructing the USSR Supreme Soviet to adopt laws proposing amendments and additions to the country's constitution.

I also want to draw your attention to the final part of the draft. In it the congress would be able to instruct the Constitutional Commission to carry out, on a priority basis, a detailed study of questions concerning the amendment of a number of provisions of the existing USSR Constitution on the political and economic systems and national-state structure of the USSR. Analyze them in the light of proposals submitted by people's deputies, and at the next congress we would be able to examine them.

The commission also reports that many comments and proposals by people's deputies have been only partially incorporated in the submitted draft or are relevant to future work. For instance, Deputy Masaliyev advocated a fixed quota of representatives of workers and peasants in the supreme organs of power of the USSR and the union republics. The argument is first and foremost that during the last election campaign few workers and peasants were elected as USSR people's deputies. Fair comment, although, to be blunt, a fixed quota in the USSR Constitution would essentially imply setting social parameters for the body of deputies. At the same time, the members of the commission believe that the republics, in improving their legislation, could be more flexible in their treatment of this issue. The solution of it is particularly important for numerically small peoples.

Deputies Rybakov and Davituliani propose establishing in part two of Article 91 the rule that chairmen of soviets should be elected by direct elections, that is, directly by the populace. On this matter the commission is acting on the basis that in the majority of republics it is envisaged that the chairmen will be elected by the soviets themselves, but the election of them by the population is perfectly possible. The new version of part 2 of Article 91 of the USSR Constitution allows this proposal to be implemented.

Deputy Tsyplyayev and some other deputies propose the recommendation that elections of people's deputies be held in territorial and national-territorial one-seat and multiseat electoral okrugs, saying that in their view industrial electoral okrugs should not be allowed. As you know, the majority of republics have adopted in their own constitutions the system of holding elections in territorial okrugs as the one that best suits soviets as organs of power in particular territories and organs of territorial self-management. At the same time, some republics envisage holding elections in industrial electoral okrugs on an experimental basis. And the commission considers it inadvisable to prevent republics from seeking ways of developing the electoral system.

The commission was unable to accept a number of proposals. In particular, deputies Krutov and Stadnik propose that it be laid down that a USSR citizen cannot be elected to more than one soviet. The commission believes that the possibility of a citizen's being elected as a deputy of two soviets is of considerable importance in terms of ensuring representation on the supreme organs of power of the USSR and union and autonomous republics, and also local soviets. This is of vital importance from the viewpoint of the democratic principles of building our federation.

Deputies Gryazin, Shlichite, Belozertsev and some others proposed the removal from Article 96 of the reference to the nonparticipation in elections of individuals held in places of detention on prosecutor's authority, retaining only the instruction to the effect that individuals held in places of detention by decision of the court will not participate in elections. The question was also discussed at the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A judgment was made—our commission did not alter the version proposed by the Supreme Soviet. To keep someone in custody while he is under investigation is to isolate him from society and effectively deprive him of the opportunity to participate in political life. Moreover, the very terms of custody are

determined by criminal procedure legislation and cannot be interpreted in an arbitrary way.

Deputies Tsalko, Medvedev, and Yerokhin consider that deputy leaders of departments as well as leaders cannot become deputies. But according to the Constitution a person cannot be a deputy of the soviet that elected or appointed him to that post. Deputy leaders of administrative organs do not come into that category. At the same time, the commission believes that question is of interest and warrants detailed study.

Deputies Tsoy, Doronina, and a number of others insist that part three of Article 100, which declares that any number of candidates can be placed on the ballot paper, should also include the direction that the number of candidates cannot be less that two. The commission appreciates the deputies' desire to strengthen the guarantees of competitive elections. However, in view of established practice, one cannot rule out the possibility that in some okrugs, particularly in the case of local soviet elections, the voters will put forward only one candidate. And, in our opinion, this should not be an obstacle to holding elections.

The proposals on amendments and additions to the constitution touch on the entire spectrum of our electoral legislation, the legal status of deputies, the rights of candidate deputies, and the relationship between deputies and the population. Many of the proposals are certainly interesting, but they do not have a direct bearing on the questions under consideration. At the same time, the commission believes that they must be taken into consideration in the relevant acts of current legislation, in particular in legislation on elections, on the status of deputies, and others. We will be passing on a number of proposals to the Constitutional Commission.

Comrades! Revolutionary transformation demands rapid, but, at the same time, considered decisions. The proposed version corresponds to the demands and spirit of the times. By approving it, we will be providing the Supreme Soviet with extensive opportunities for shaping our legislation and, consequently, we will be providing extra opportunities for speedier progress.

Chairman: Comrades! Deputy Manayenkov has answered all the questions put by the deputies. Presumably, one can now vote on the draft.... You have a question? Second microphone please.

V.A. Shapovalenko, laboratory head at the Volga-Ural scientific research and planning institute for the extraction and processing of gases containing hydrogen sulphide at the "Orenburggazprom" production association, Orenburg (Orenburgskiy Gorodskoy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Orenburg Oblast): Excuse me, esteemed speaker! Why did the commission ignore the decision of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet relating to Article 95, where the wording was quite different? I will read the new version: "Some USSR people's deputies... will be elected from public organizations." You listed several deputies who proposed a different wording, but did not cite the Supreme Soviet decisions and the opinion of those deputies who proposed a different wording.

Yu.A. Manayenkov: Esteemed Comrade Shapovalenko! The question is being discussed at the Congress of People's Deputies and the deputies made their proposals at the congress. The commission has put forward its position in these proposals.

From the floor: (Inaudible).

A.I. Lukyanov: I think we will have the opportunity to discuss this question and vote.

Yu.A. Manayenkov: The commission was elected at the congress; it did not operate at the Supreme Soviet session. I repeat that, on the basis of numerous opinions out forward by people's deputies, we are expressing their opinion and our own position—the commission's position. It is a collective opinion.

From the floor: (Inaudible).

A.I. Lukyanov: Any more questions? Second microphone, please.

G.V. Starovoytova, senior scientific assistant at the Center to Study Interethnic Relations under the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Moscow (Yerevanskiy Sovetskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]): Comrade Manayenkov, why did the commission ignore the principle of presumption of innocence—one of the fundamental principles of Soviet and international legislation—and disregard the amendment to Article 96, which came from a number of deputies. I repeat your words: "The opportunity to participate in political life cannot be granted to people in custody pending trial." But custody pending trial, and I draw the deputies' attention to this, is only an investigative action and not a sentence passed by a court. Therefore, if, before the court has given its verdict, we deprive a person of the right to elect or be elected, we are violating an individual's fundamental civil right. We know of cases where cosmonauts in orbit have been sent a ballot box, enabling them to vote. But can cosmonauts, who are effectively isolated, participate in the country's political life?

I know for what specific case and what precedent this article was adopted in this case, in this version. I believe Comrade Manayenkov knows too. I would ask him to explain why basic civil rights are being violated in this way.

Yu.A. Manayenkov. We did not ignore this proposal. We discussed it a long time, but nonetheless the commission arrived at the conclusion that if someone is detained on a prosecutor's authorization and is kept in isolation even though a court decision is still awaited, this person is nonetheless deprived of the right to participate in sociopolitical life. This question is also regulated by other normative acts. This is why we made this decision. There is no infringement of the presumption of innocence here.

Chairman. Are there any more questions? Connect the third microphone. Please, Comrade Neumyvakin.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin, chairman of the Central Board of the All-Russian Society for the Blind, Moscow City. (From the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation). Esteemed chairman of the Editorial Commission and you, Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov]. Am I correct in understanding the amendment to Article 95, which says that some USSR people's deputies can receive mandates from public organizations? This would probably be stipulated in the Law on Elections, or have I misunderstood?

Chairman. If you are asking me, nothing will be changed in the Law on Elections.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. So, which normative act will determine the organization quota for the disabled, the public organizations, the veterans?

Chairman. The quota is set by the Law on Elections which will not be amended. Furthermore, Article 109 of the USSR Constitution determines the representation of public organizations and the USSR Supreme Soviet did not suggest amending it.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. In that case, I cannot understand how candidates from public organizations will actually stand for election: In electoral okrugs, as usual, or will there be a set quota like, for example, in Kazakhstan and Belorussia?

Chairman. The commission does not suggest repealing this article, so that any questions that emerge will be discussed.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. Here, Anatoliy Ivanovich, the formulation is incomprehensible: "some USSR people's deputies can be elected..." Under which law can they be elected, how will they stand for election—in okrugs? This, for example, is what I propose. The question of direct elections has been raised here—so let us have direct elections. Why not hold them in the actual public organization?

Chairman. I am prepared to explain, unless you are addressing the question to Comrade Manayenkov: Article 109 of the Constitution, which neither the USSR Supreme Soviet nor the commission proposes to amend, says: "750 deputies from all-Union public organizations according to norms set by the Law on Elections of USSR people's deputies." This norm will be preserved.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. And the procedure for holding elections will remain the same as under today's Constitution, do I understand this correctly?

Chairman. Only in the USSR.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. And will it be preserved in the future?

Chairman. Yes. This is what it says here.

A.Ya. Neumyvakin. Therefore, I can express thanks to the deputies and congratulate all comrades from public organizations on the fact that this representation will be preserved in the USSR Supreme Soviet in the future. Do I understand this correctly?

Chairman. If the congress decides so. Any more questions? Please, connect the second microphone.

Ye.L. Golovlev, laboratory chief at the Institute of Biochemistry and the Physiology of Microorganisms, Pushchino City (Serpukhovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Moscow Oblast). I would like to repeat Deputy Shapovalenko's question: Why was the USSR Supreme Soviet's opinion not taken into account? I believe that the formulation proposed by the commission is a loophole for representatives of political organizations. It seems to me that either elections from public organizations should be completely ruled out, or a sole exception should be made for the disabled. (Applause)

Yu.A. Manayenkov. The final decision on this questions is to be made by the congress, but the Editorial Commission proceeded from the premise that had this not been enshrined in Article 95, our future congress will not be likely to have more women, war and labor veterans, and representatives of the young or disabled, and it seems to me that the interests of these categories of citizens ought to be taken into account.

Chairman. Please, connect the third microphone.

V V. Antanaytis, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources (Kaunasskiy Rural Territorial Electoral Okrug, Lithuanian SSR). I would draw deputies' attention to the fact that Article 95 is presented in a very incomprehensible manner. The USSR Supreme Soviet said it clearly—there will be no deputies from public organizations, while the proposed formulation says it even more incomprehensibly than the previous law: "Some people's deputies." How many, from which organizations? I understand that the congress is discussing only the disabled, there has been no talk of other organizations. I would ask for utmost accuracy and clarity in Article 95.

Chairman. Understood. Comrades, I would ask you to ask questions, we will be able to exchange opinions when we embark on discussing the article. Comrade Engver, please.

N.N. Engver, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee (Industrialnyy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug, Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). Anatoliy Ivanovich, Ilya Iosifovich Zaslavskiy and I are speaking on one and the same question. The question is this: Why are we ignored if we have run in the normal way in electoral okrugs without taking advantage of our disability? We were not elected from the organization of the disabled even though we are disabled, yet infringing disabled people's interests...

Chairman. This has become a discussion.

N.N. Engver. No, this is not a discussion, Anatoliy Ivanovich. Infringing disabled people's interests so as to provide a loophole for penetration by the mafia—this is a bad thing. (Applause)

Chairman. I think that this is a suggestion rather than a question. Do you have a question? Please.

Yu.S. Shelukhin, deputy chief metallurgist of Ulyanovsk Machine Tool Building Production Association of Heavy and Unique Machine Tools (Zasviyazhskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Ulyanovsk Oblast). I would like an answer as to why nothing has been said about my request to introduce the following addition to Article 96: "No other electoral qualifications apart from those enumerated in the article, including residence qualifications, which infringe the right to be elected as people's deputy, shall be permitted."

This is my first question. And a second one. I think that we ought to introduce more specific amendments to Article 96. I insist that the last paragraph be worded as follows: "Mentally ill citizens adjudged incapable by the court, and persons under arrest on the basis of a court decision or a prosecutor's authorization do not participate in elections." And the words "in places of detention" must be deleted since they are at variance with Article 54 of the USSR Constitution. I think that this would be a more correct formulation than the one you are proposing. I am waiting for an answer.

Yu.A. Manayenkov. But this is no longer a question, this is a discussion. I can only say that the commission expressed its opinion on this matter—you are entitled to accept or reject it.

Chairman. Any more questions? Deputy Zaslavskiy, please.

I.I. Zaslavskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids (Oktyabrskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Moscow City). I have several questions, each one a followup from the other. The point is that, in the context of Comrade Neumyvakin's speech, I submitted my proposal to the congress secretariat. Unfortunately, it was not taken into account by the commission now. It seems to me that this proposal would have better satisfied the interests of disabled people.

My first question: Why should elections from public organizations satisfy the interests of disabled people since the disabled represent less than 10% (well, maybe 11%) of the total membership of a rayon's public organizations? Would it not be more correct to hold elections from the entire social stratum of disabled people for all who wish to take part in these elections, rather than in territorial okrug elections based on universal, direct, and equal ballot? This would really take into account the interests of disabled people and, consequently, more than just the apparatus of disabled people's societies will be represented.

Second. Why is it that now, when we are talking about doing away with representations from public organizations, the question of the representatives of disabled people's societies has been raised? After all, when quotas were allocated to public organizations, the disabled people's organizations did not—as far as I know—receive any quotas. And when these quotas are being eliminated, people suddenly remembered the disabled.

And third. How correct is it that the 750 deputies elected from public organizations should be concealed behind the long-suffering back of the disabled? This seems slightly incorrect to me.

Comrades, you people's deputies are all honest and honorable people. Could it be that you are afraid to stand for elections in electoral okrugs and wish to slip in behind a disabled person's back? This is improper. (Applause)

Chairman. I would ask Deputy Zaslavskiy one thing: Please ask questions. I shall give you an opportunity to speak when this article is being discussed. Let us agree to ask questions now and to discuss later.

I.I. Zaslavskiy. But I did ask a question: Why was my proposal not included? After all, it seems to me that it will make it possible to take into account the interests of all 7 million registered disabled, and not just of the apparatus of public organizations of the disabled, especially since there are quite a few of them and not all will be represented.

Yu.A. Manayenkov. We assumed that the formulation contained in the draft also covered your proposal. [passage omitted]

Maslyukov, Voronin on Allocation of Resources

PM2212111789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin "Political Observer's Notes": "To Emerge From the Tunnel"]

[Excerpts] The majority of voters polled pin hopes on the congress connected with progress in the spheres of the economy and national relations and express the opinion that its work will be successful. Assessments connected with the hopes of resolving economic problems are more optimistic, and optimists on the whole substantially predominate over pessimists. This is one of the results of the first round of a poll conducted in 12 cities and 10 rural population centers in the country by the "Syezd" sociological group set up at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology.

Institute Director Prof V.A. Yadov and scientific associates A.M. Demidov and V.M. Ivanov also report that the majority of those polled incline toward moderately

positive assessments of the situation between the two congresses. The most critical were residents of Leningrad and Krasnodar: One in every two declared that his expectations are not being justified. Between one third and one half of those polled in various cities believe that the situation in the country has not changed during this period. At the same time there are more positive than negative assessments of the work of the Supreme Soviet. Some 90-95% of residents in practically all cities intend to follow the course of the congress.

The aforesaid figures should be borne in mind when speaking of the results of the debates on the chief item on the agenda—measures to improve the economy. The phased dynamic of the economic reform proposed by the government has given rise to stormy arguments. [passage omitted]

The atmosphere in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was becoming heated. And then a leaflet was passed around, urging people not to support the program proposed in the report. It was then that I recalled L.I. Abalkin's rejoinder in an interview with regard to the economic situation in the country.

"Do you see light at the end of the tunnel?" the correspondent asked.

"I am not a seer but a scientist," the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers replied. "It is not a matter of whether I see light at the end of the tunnel. I simply know how to emerge from it."

We continued this conversation with Leonid Ivanovich when deputies were working on the draft resolution on the report.

"People are demanding some guarantees from us," the academician said. "But, in my opinion, guarantees are a two-way thing. If the congress participants help to ensure that no one 'rocks the boat' and organizes strikes, we will be able to promise firmly that we will fulfill our program. And in general I would like to wish that we all heed the voice of reason more than emotions."

"The idea of giving the government another 3 months to finish drawing up the program was voiced," Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, added. "But can we really allow the economy to go downhill for another quarter? Many people expressed the idea that the regions are not getting all the funds they have earned. However, let us count up. Leningrad with its R18 billion, for example, will feed itself. But what about Pskov Oblast, which produces output worth R1 billion, whereas it needs R2 billion to feed itself? The oblast has become depopulated, but why must the inhabitants who are left suffer? It is another matter that we must see whether funds are always redistributed fairly."

Naturally, the question arose of the prospects of the Russian Federation, which under conditions of the future republican economic accountability may once again find itself done out of its fair share because of the prices structure which has taken shape. L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, replied as follows to this question:

"With republican economic accountability the size of deductions into the state budget will be regulated depending on the specific conditions. And the situation which has taken shape in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic will, of course, be taken into account."

Yes, a structural economy is very full of inertia, and, with the best will in the world, it cannot be placed on a new footing at once. This is an objective law. And, to tell the truth, it is hard to understand those congress participants who call for people's social protection to be sacrificed for the sake of an immediate "go-ahead" for the market. The first stage envisaged in the program is not the delaying of reform in the name of loyalty to the "administrative-edict system" but the necessary room to maneuver, without which the reform will find it hard to gather momentum.

What would a sharp shift to market methods mean? Instantaneous growth in the number of unemployed, uncontrolled price fluctuations, and a blow to the interests of the indigent. As is known, the economy is a system capable of self-regulation, but how would we live throughout the time when it is being brought into balance? This, I believe, is not an idle question. [passage omitted]

Alekseyev Discusses Constitutional Oversight

PM2212145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

["Mini-Interview" under the rubric "The Congress Continues Its Work" with S.S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, by own correspondent G. Ovcharenko: "Constitutional Oversight—the Guarantor of Democracy in the Country"]

[Text] One of the key questions on the agenda of the Second Congress is the discussion of the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR and the election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. As was stated at a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, it is proposed to recommend S. Alekseyev, USSR people's deputy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, for the post of chairman of this committee. Yesterday PRAVDA correspondent G. Ovcharenko interviewed him.

[Ovcharenko] Sergey Sergeyevich, how do you visualize constitutional oversight in the USSR?

[Alekseyev] First of all I must say that I do not like the word "oversight." Constitutional council or something on those lines would be better. In my opinion it should not be an organ which oversees the observance of the Constitution, especially since we are now faced with the need to improve our fundamental law. It should be a council which resolves constitutional questions in connection with our revolutionary reality and the perestroyka processes which are under way. This is our point of departure.

[Ovcharenko] Fears have been expressed that instead of acting as a vehicle for democratic changes, the committee might turn into an obstacle in their path.

[Alekseyev] Only people who believe that the committee will act high-handedly from the top downward, that it will be yet another element of the central administrative system, can be saying this. In other words, they believe that the committee is allegedly being set up to suppress republic and regional initiative, independence, and sovereignty. I take a different view. The committee must see to it both that the republics act within the framework of the union federation and that the center does not infringe their rights. This applies in particular to the work of ministries and departments, which, putting it mildly, first, do not always take account of the opinions of union and automomous republic Supreme Soviets or local soviets, and second, spawn heaps of instructions which are frequently incompatible with the Constitution. In my opinion, this aspect may become the dominant feature in the committee's work.

[Ovcharenko] Clearly, the Constitutional Oversight Committee is to be the country's only organ for interpreting the articles of the Constitution?

[Alekseyev] Correct. And what is more, this interpretation must proceed from the democratic content of the fundamental law in keeping precisely with the democratic constitutional development needs which arise in connection with the renewal of society. Our constitution has this potential—it is enough to recall the provisions on appeals against the unlawful actions of officials and on the presumption of innocence. This democratic potential must be actively used for the benefit of perestroyka.

[Ovcharenko] How?

[Alekseyev] In my opinion the committee must identify critical sticking points in constitutional problems, investigate all clashes which arise in practice in our day-to-day life, and point the way to their solution. In this way the committee could be of great assistance to the constitutional commission which is working on the fundamental law. This type of work of the committee is further justified by the fact that it is to be staffed not by apparatchiks and representatives of the administration but by scientists, politologists, and lawyers who can cope with such a task.

[Ovcharenko] In short, you view the Constitutional Oversight Committee as a guarantor of democracy in a rule-of-law state.

[Alekseyev] Precisely. It must not only put a stop to distortions of the democratic content of the USSR Constitution in all spheres, but also prevent such undesirable phenomena as, for instance, attempts to usurp power. Its mission is to prevent any kind of action, irrespective by whom, which could infringe the rights, interests, and freedoms of citizens and also of the peoples and ethnic groups, republics, and autonomous formations.

[Ovcharenko] Many deputies to whom I have spoken believe that the Constitutional Oversight Committee has a great deal of difficult work ahead of it which brooks no delay. They cite problems such as the constitutional assessment of the residential qualification introduced in the laws on elections in Estonia and Latvia, and the question of the notorious list under which people who hold certain posts do not have the right to appeal against the actions of their bosses in court...

[Alekseyev] My colleagues are right. The committee will have more than enough work. However, it should be warned in advance against excessive haste, especially on questions which concern the sovereignty of the republics, the foundationsof the federation, and interethnic relations. As for the aforementioned list, it is unconstitutional, if only from the viewpoint of existing legislation and the principles enshrined in the fundamental law. So the prospect of a decision on this question, as far as I am concerned, is more obvious. [as published] I will say it again: The committee must become a real guarantor of the democratic transformations which are under way in the country and of their irreversibility.

Admiral Ivanov Addresses Congress 21 Dec

LD2212145389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1849 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Speech by Admiral Vitaliy Pavlovich Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, at the 21 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades deputies. The experience of restructuring, the experience of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the work of our congress demonstrate that the construction of a just and democratic law-governed state is a responsible and difficult matter, which requires knowledge, energy, competence, a careful weighing up of emotions and judgements, and regard for the interests of all nationalities and social groups of people in our country. The difficulty in constructing a law-governed state also resides in the fact that today a proportion of the legal acts that have been adopted and are being adopted not only by state bodies and public organizations, but also of acts of a number of union republics, run counter to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws, they run counter to the democratic foundations of Soviet society and the rights and freedom of the

individual. In this debate on the law on constitutional supervision in the USSR, I would like to dwell on some aspects of legal activity and observance of the USSR Constitution in the republics which directly involve the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Supervision Committee and which exert an adverse influence on the normal performance by servicemen of their constitutional service duties in defense of the state. I think that the Constitutional Supervision Committee, the creation of which is indispensable today, should consider these matters in the future.

We in the military are not just in the very front-line of ideological confrontation, with certain circles actively attempting to denigrate and undermine the authority of the Army and Navy, bring into conflict the Armed Forces, on the one hand, and the people and party, on the other, and instill skepticism in the ability of the Armed Forces to defend the country, but we are also at a line of immediate contact with the most overt forces of nationalism and extremism. The activities of these forces assume all forms, from provocations and the bandying of labels like invaders, to armed attacks on military installations and servicemen, the desecration of monuments to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and to prominent revolutionaries, monuments to victory in the Great Patriotic War and to soldiers who fell in the Great Patriotic war. Certain circles have not renounced provocative attempts to bring the army and people into collision and to lure us, the Army, into any kind of adventure, thus also striking at the authority of the party and government and restructuring as a whole.

A number of state-wide problems relating to the armed forces also require closer attention from our congress. First and foremost, I refer to the problem of the conscription of young people and their service in the armed forces. Enjoying the connivance and a certain degree of assistance from the local soviet leadership in the Baltic region and the Transcaucasus and profiting deftly from the Army and Navy's troubles and our difficulties and shortcomings, anti-Army forces, the People's Fronts, and the Latvian Women's League have managed to force on the public in their republics a negative attitude and unwillingness to serve in the Armed Forces, and thus to threaten Army conscription with break-down. They have managed to create circumstances in which there is a large, increased incidence of desertion and evasion of military service, actively encouraged and supported by the People's Fronts. I believe that we all have the same homeland, comrades, and it is our constitutional obligation and our civic and, as I would put it, manly duty to defend it on the basis of universal military service. One should not just recruit workers and peasants for the Armed Forces, something we are today actively heading for by unthinkingly releasing whole social groups and sections of the population from military service.

The laws adopted in some republics on service only on the territory of one's own republic and proposals for the establishment of national units, in which attempts are strenuously being made to foist on public opinion, alongside the adverse consequences mentioned by Army General Moiseyev, deputy, also have another aspect. These actions will bring nothing but harm to the combat might of the Armed Forces, and consequently a weakening of the defense capability of the state. All this is nothing short of deliberate attempts to undermine the basis of our defense capability, a desire on the part of so-called national leaders and of the various National Fronts to have at their disposal an armed force sanctioned by law, and it is not difficult to guess in whose hands this force could find itself in a critical situation, given the existing circumstances in the Baltic region and Transcaucasus. So can we take such a step?

Second, we officer members of the military realize that in two years of military service we shall not be able to re-educate fully a young man of 18, but we cultivate and nurture in him an all-embracing sense of human duty, comradeship, patriotism, internationalism, and responsibility. We raise and develop his political and social horizons, self-discipline, and maturity by maintaining a high degree of order, organization, and discipline, and we energetically set up barriers to prevent the abnormalities of civilian life being transformed into bullying. We ensure that the soldier and sailor undergo a high level of military training. To put it metaphorically, army service has saved numerous millions of our young people from prison and penury, set them on the right road, and given them a proper start in life.

Energetic attempts are now being made to foist a professional army onto us and at the same time the matter is being presented in such a way as to suggest that it is only the military who are preventing this. Let me tell you frankly that it would be easier for us officers to serve in a professional army. But let us give thought to what the consequences would be for the state in the material, moral, and spiritual aspect, not to mention the inability to create mobilization reserves. In our country today there is no social, political, or legal institution for education and development which would be equivalent to the Army and Navy in its influence on young people.

Third, and this is on the subject of constitutional supervision, the Army and Navy have today come up against difficult problems of life and service. In the Baltic republics the local and republican authorities do not allocate housing for servicemen and at the same time they do not give permission for the Defense Ministry to build housing, schools, hospitals, and kindergartens in previously allocated places. They have sharply reduced the planned supplies of bricks for the construction of housing blocks. Discriminatory laws are being adopted which violate the rights of servicemen. All of this is going on in the bad and difficult situation which has arisen today in the provision of social, cultural, and living facilities for servicemen.

A cut-back of 500,000 men is now under way in the Armed Forces. By decision of the Defense Ministry, 100 housing blocks have been built to house officers discharged from the Armed Forces. Included in this number

are two blocks in our Baltic Fleet area which have built in the Daugava region of Riga and in Liepaja. We have accepted this as a just decision. But the local authorities today will not give residence registration to the families of the discharged officers who have arrived in these cities and, as a result, the discharged servicemen are unable to receive their pensions, are unable to work, to receive medical help, to buy foodstuffs and consumer goods. Many letters and telegrams are coming in on this subject.

On 6 December, 1989, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] adopted a decision on a draft law of the Estonian SSR on immigration. The articles of this decision establish time-limited residence permits, for a maximum of three years, for servicemen and their families, which are extended until the completion of the period of service. The establishment of time-limited residence permits presupposes that when they expire, the servicemen and their families are obliged to leave the Estonian SSR.

On 4 December, 1989, the Ministry of Housing and Communal Services of the Estonian SSR elaborated a draft decision of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR on giving the status of official premises to housing allocated to military departments. In accordance with this decision, from 1 january, 1990, the housing allocated by executive committees of local soviets and also the housing built by the Defense Ministry for servicemen undergoing service in the Armed Forces is regarded as official premises. Moreover, if the servicemen depart to serve elsewhere the official premises in local soviets' housing are put at the disposal of the local authorities. People who have lost their links with the Armed Forces, that is those discharged into the reserve, are not registered in the accommodation they occupy. At the same time as the above-mentioned draft decision of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR, a draft decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian SSR has been prepared. This will allow local soviets not to allocate housing for the defense Ministry. All the reserved housing on the territory of Estonia is being lost by the Defense Ministry. When servicemen are discharged into the reserve they are deprived of the housing they previously occupied and the obligatory requirement is made that they leave the bounds of the Estonian SSR. Consequently, servicemen who have been discharged into the reserve will be unable freely to choose their place of residence within the bounds of the state which is a serious violation of Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, moreover, this is also a violation of the constitutional right to housing.

The same situation has arisen in other Baltic republics, too. The aggregate effect of such acts is to aggravate the already difficult situation. We call on the Congress of People's Deputies not to permit the adoption of the above-mentioned laws.

Lastly, proceeding from what I have said above, I propose first, to adopt the law and create a Constitutional Supervision Committee. In my view, those who protest against the adoption of this are people who would like to continue without supervision to perpetrate illegal actions, which a number of deputies who have spoken here have called for.

Second, to add to Article 12 of the Law on Constitutional Supervision of the USSR, which states which matters the committee undertakes to examine, point 6 with the wording: With regard to national minorities, individual social groups and public organizations. This should also be included in the penultimate paragraph of this same Article, 12.

Third, we ask for support for the proposal made by the USSR Defense Ministry to declare the call-up for and discharge from active military service to be not an order from the USSR Defense Ministry but a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, or a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers so that its implementation should be obligatory in all republics and regions.

Fourth, I propose the setting up of a reliable legal mechanism to ensure the fulfillment of the law on universal liability to military service and severe responsibility for desertion and evasion of military service and for those who incite desertion and evasion of military service.

Fifth, to set up a commission of the congress or instruct the Constitutional Supervision Committee to examine the legality of decisions, resolutions, laws, and other acts which have been adopted and which discriminate against or violate the rights of servicemen.

Finally, the last point, to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine the defense policy of our state and prepare the corresponding draft legislative acts for presentation to the Third Congress of Peoples Deputies.

Thank you, comrades.

People's Deputy Views Estonia 'Problem'

LD2212145189 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Juhan Virkus report with remarks by Igor Grazin, USSR people's deputy from Estonia—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Virkus] By now it is clear that the committee for constitutional control is an organization for pushing the Baltic republics. That may almost with certainty be said on the basis of those speeches which followed the speech of Igor Grazin here at the congress. [passage omitted]

[Grazin] By the way, in connection with this conversation [between Gorbachev and Lithuanian deputies] one must say now that this weekend will in every way be awfully short. Indeed, I feel, up to a point, sorry for the party general secretary and (?the USSR president) as a human being, but what can one do about it. Indeed, too many things have come together, haven't they? This

constitutional control is one thing, secession of the Lithuanian Communist Party is number two, the Americans in Panama is number three, and Hungary gathering its forces on its border with Romania, that is number four. He has to deal with all four at the same time. [passage omitted] And, here lies the Estonian problem. We would like to help and support Gorbachev, but we cannot do this at the expense of our own ideals.

Moscow TV Relays 22 Dec Congressional Session

1300 GMT

LD2212140189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 22 December begins carrying a recording of the 22 December session of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Mikhail Gorbachev declares the morning session open and picks up on yesterday's points on the situation in Romania, saying that the situation has worsened overnight.

At 1301 GMT, Deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov addresses deputies on the situation in Romania and reads out the deputy's statement on the Romanian situation.

At 1302 GMT, Gorbachev says there should be a vote and asks if anyone wants to speak.

At 1303 GMT, Deputy Kotlyakov takes the floor and says that a tougher statement is needed.

At 1304 GMT, Gorbachev invites an unidentified Moldavian deputy to take the floor since the Moldavians may know more. He gives the official view taken there and notes Moldavian interest in the events in Romania. He also quotes unofficial reports.

At 1307 GMT, Gorbachev asks to put the statement to the vote. He is requested to read it out again and does so. He puts it to the vote. For: 1,809, against: 32, abstained: 65

At 1311 GMT, Gorbachev says they will continue the debate on constitutional supervision.

At 1312 GMT, Deputy Kuleshov says that an earlier law on constitutional supervision could have prevented the troubles in the Transcaucaus and Baltic area. He favors harmonious development of all republics. He wonders why only the Russians are being blamed for the USSR's problems when Stalin and Beria were Georgians. The central authorities have made many decisions over the years which have remained unimplemented. More power should be given to the local and other soviets; they should have their own budgets. He discusses ways to improve agriculture, citing the example of his native altay. He condemns the popular fronts for power-seeking and adventurism. Law and order should be strengthened.

At 1325 GMT, Deputy Yarovoy supports the creation of the Constitutional Supervision Committee [CSC]. The leadership in the Baltic area is deliberately ignoring union authority. He cites actions of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] aimed at undermining the union and asks what is to be done about it. He calls on Gorbachev to express his attitude to what is going on there. Discrimination against minorities in Estonia violates international pacts. He calls on deputies to vote in favor of the CSC. He suggests ways that the CSC could operate. He refers to a recent Estonian law which has been protested by union bodies and calls on the congress to adopt a decision on the matter. He says that deputies should vote according to their conscience and not according to political deals such as between the Balts and the Interregional Group.

1342 GMT

LD2212144789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1342 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Irbagimov from Azerbaijan says that under the proposed legislation, individual republics will be able to call into question union laws and laws in other republics. He supports the legislation but suggests various improvements to it.

At 1346 GMT, Deputy Tikhonovich from Vilnius expresses the opinion of Russian and Polish inhabitants of Vilnius. He condemns narrow local nationalism and egotism. He supports the creation of a CSC to protect the rights of minorities. The Lithuanian press is full of anti-Polish propaganda. Anti-Polish discrimination is widespread there. The CSC has a major role to play.

At 1356 GMT, Deputy Skudra, Latvian minister of justice, says that there can no longer be any question of total uniformity among republics but only of voluntary agreements. He condemns the various deputies who reject all legislation adopted in the Baltic republics and try to instruct them what to do. There must be a union of sovereign republics with a strict delimitation of the powers of the center. In the past, centralism has not produced good results. He makes specific proposals on the legislation.

At 1406 GMT, Deputy Demidov expresses support for the proposed legislation which will prevent anarchy.

At 1414, Deputy Abuladze says real internationalism is based on humanism, not invasion of neighboring countries. What Moiseyev calls ethnic fringes is my home, Abuladze says. I shall be voting against the law, which enshrines Stalinist principles, he concludes.

At 1423, Deputy Golik, from the Committee on Legislation, asks what reason there is for believing that the

proposed committee will step on republican laws. The committee would have a useful role to play in resolving constitutional crises.

At 1427, Deputy Khugayeva says the USSR should retain the role of coordinating relations between the national entities that make up the USSR.

At 1431, Deputy Moteka says the law will have the right to interfere in republican laws. We are convinced that only a consensus principle will make the system work, but such a principle is not to be found in the law. The committee could be used in an antirestructuring and antirepublican way. Anyway, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are not part of the Soviet Union under international law. Lithuania was forcibly brought into the USSR: Stalin's terror against Lithuania's population led to vast casualties. Urgent measures should be taken to eliminate the consequences of this Stalinist terror. He calls on the government to begin talks on the restoration of Lithuanian independence, with the participation of representatives of European states. The Baltic representatives will not take part in discussion of the committee, and Lithuania will have nothing to do with it.

1441 GMT

LD2212152189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1441 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Osipyan replies to Ivanov who yesterday complained that demobilized officers could not live in Estonia—in fact, it is difficult for them to get an apartment in Moscow and Leningrad as well! The Committee to Supervise the Constitution would be able to take an objective look at such things. Most people believe there should be a new constitution, but the committee is a separate political matter. The country as a whole needs full constitutional guarantees, and the committee should be set up.

At 1447 GMT, Deputy Kogan gives examples of officers not being able to register for residence in Estonia. The rights of the minority are boldly flouted in the Baltic regions. Vaska listens and carries on eating—eating "human destinies", of which there are 2.5 million in the Baltic region, and around 2 million in Moldavia. We risk ending up with 60 million "second-class citizens," and the proposed new constitution won't help them. Gorbachev intervenes: "We can't allow people in our country to be divided up into categories. We can't." Kogan says we already have them in the Baltic region—candidates were not registered because they failed to meet the residence qualification. He condemns Brazauskas' call for the consolidation of the Baltic communist parties against the CPSU and Gorbachev. The committee is needed.

At 1454 GMT, Gorbachev asks: Shall we continue? He suggests the committee that has been dealing with the matter should be given all the new porposals and if they are ready by 1600 GMT let's listen to them. A 30-minute break is announced.

1511 GMT

LD2212163189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1511 GMT on 22 December resumes its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Lukyanov announces that the Constitutional Supervision Commission is carrying on. The next debate will be on the struggle against organized crime. Minister of Internal Affairs Bakatin will deliver the report.

At 1513 GMT, Bakatin says that restructuring has become irreversible, but social tension has risen, with an increase in rallies, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience. Crime has increased sharply. Criminal justice bodies have been reinforced by the government. Crimes like burglary and robbery have gone up. Organized crime is based on the establishment of networks in the criminal world and the monopolization of individual types of crimes. The potential profits of the blackmarket and corrupt officialdom are the breeding-ground for organized crime. Criminals, investing ill-gotten earnings, are among those taking advantage of the new laws allowing ownership of the means of production and hiring of employees.

The penetration of the cooperative movement by organized crime must be resolutely combated. Links between criminals and nationalist extremists have been discovered in the Transcaucasus. The phenomenon of hired hit men has made an appearance, and there have been shoot-outs between gangs. Possession of fire-arms is on the increase. The laws may be inadequate, and there may be an excessively liberal attitude on the part of the law-enforcement bodies and the judiciary. Materialism and moral decline can be noted, with a rising crime rate among CPSU and Komsomol members. The circumstances for eliminating the crime wave are absent at this transitional stage in the country's development.

Bakatin says the first step to combat organized crime has been taken, with the submitting of a specific program agreed with the Council of Ministers. There is to be a growth of 13.6% over last year in the funding to combat crime.

Bakatin says there have of late been several campaigns to get certain convicts released. He says that the judicial organs are not asking for any special powers to combat crimes—ordinary powers will do. It is strange, he says, that the technical means used in detective work in the United States, UK, or France cannot be used in the

USSR because supposedly they do not accord with the situation in a state government by the rule of law.

There is a need, he says, for an expert commission on crime, and also for a deputies' commission. He recalls a proposal submitted by the late Andrey Sakharov. He puts forward a proposal for the reorganization of the organs of the militia.

Bakatin says the internal affairs ministry supports the idea of the creation of a unified tax inspectorate. The internal affairs bodies will cooperate closely with the mass media.

1617 GMT

LD2212165389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1617 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At this time Bakatin ends his speech. The floor is given to Procurator General Sukharev. He says there is no need to prove that the upsurge in crime is a social phenomenon. It has always been a mistake to ideologize criminality. The procuracy is not fundamentally in disagreement with the internal affairs ministry on the causes of the upsurge in crime. He contrasts the rise in crime that has taken place since restructuring began with that which occurred before restructuring. It was at the end of the 70's and start of the 80's that bandit crime really came to the forefront. He lists some of the crimes, including murders, that were perpetrated by bands of criminals in various parts of the country, particularly central Asia.

He then moves on to the growth of the black economy and the black market. In the first 10 months of this year the KGB succeeded in routing some 1,500 bandit groups that had committed some 4,000 dangerous crimes within the context of the underground economy. There is a need to deal with the mismanagement and book-cooking that gives rise to the black economy. He lists some figures for the writing-off of production in the various industries, particularly car-making and shipping. Criminal investigations have been launched into many cases of mismanagement. This year there have been 18,000 very large instances of embezzlement. He goes on to list other crimes of large scale speculation and theft by officials. In production, there can only be improvement with an decline in the scale of mismanagement and abuse of power by management officials. The USSR is unique for its wealth of resources, but the barbaric misexploitation of these resources is creating havoc. While we have dismantled the old administrative management methods, we have not created any forms of control to replace the ones that used to exist. The procuracy has been heavily involved in investigating the events in Sumgait and elsewhere.

At 1638 GMT the bell is rung; Sukharev says he needs at least another 20 minutes to finish. Lukyanov says he thinks this time should be granted after the break.

At 1640 GMT, Gorbachev starts talking about the events in Romania. About 50,000 people gathered in Bucharest. It has been announced that the Romanian minister of defense has committed suicide.

At 1642 GMT, Lukyanov makes an administrative announcement before calling a break.

1643 GMT

LD2212173289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1643 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The relay continues after the break.

At 1645 GMT, Sukharev takes the floor. He talks about bribetaking and giving in Kazakhstan, listing recent instances. Fewer and fewer cases of bribe-taking are being cleared up these days, he says. Sukharev gives more facts and figures on disciplinary action taken against internal affairs officials. Fewer than half of the officials found guilty of bribetaking have been imprisoned. Indeed, only 20% of officials found guilty have been deprived of their posts. A new draft law on the procuracy has been prepared, he says.

Sukharev says there is a social vacuum when it comes to dealing with and monitoring those released from prison. He gives figures for the numbers of people killed and injured in crime—80,000 killed (?in the first 10 months of this year). In several regions of the USSR, he says, a challenge has been thrown down to law and order—interethnic strife, strikes etc. Sukharev says he is aware of the weight of responsibility on the procuracy for improving the crime situation and for maintaining law and order. In the first 6 months of the year, some 15,000 unjustified sentences were overturned. If we are to build a state built on the rule of law, he says, we need well-trained and well-equipped experts. Sukharev remarks conclude at 1703 GMT.

At 1703 GMT, Lukyanov asks for written questions only.

1703 GMT

LD2212182789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1703 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1704 GMT, Deputy Kerimov, chairman of the committee for constitutional supervision, is given the floor to deal with the question of constitutional supervision. He says that from the number of questions that have flooded

in on the draft law on constitutional supervision, he can only suppose that not everything was made clear in previous speeches on the subject. He will try to rectify the situation. He talks about Article 125 of the USSR Constitution. He goes on to talk about articles of the draft law on constitutional supervision on which proposals had been put forward by deputies: Articles 12, 16, 28—he says he agrees with all of these proposals.

At 1714 GMT, Kerimov moves on to articles on which he cannot agree with deputies' proposals: a proposal on the minimum age at which a deputy can be a member of the committee; Article 5; Article 9; Article 10, and others.

At 1734 GMT, Kerimov ends his report and the floor is given over to questions on the draft law on constitutional supervision. One deputy suggests that the constitutional supervision committee is resisting attempts to place the chairman of the Supreme Soviet—the country's president—under supervision. Kerimov replies that after all this is the country's president—it is the institution of the presidency that should not be subject to supervision, not the individual. Other queries are dealt with or dismissed.

At 1750 GMT, one deputy is told that he is reading an old edition of the draft—all his queries and worries were dealt with long ago.

At 1754 GMT, more deputies ask questions dealing with the organization and election of the constitutional supervision committee.

At 1757 GMT, Gorbachev asks whether enough questions have been asked and requests a show of hands on whether to stop. The vote shows a majority in favor of stopping. Kerimov speaks on the subject of whether the constitutional supervision committee should have the right to supervise union republic's constitutions. He believes it should, inasmuch as the USSR is a federation. He is aware, though, that certain Baltic republics are less than happy about this.

At 1803 GMT, Gorbachev says it would be premature to vote just now. The commission should be given more time, Gorbachev says. He announces a 30-minute break.

1805 GMT

LD2212194489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1805 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The relay continues after the intermission without a break in transmission.

At 1806 GMT, Lukyanov lists the deputies who are to take the floor.

At 1808 GMT, Samsonov speaks on the problem of organized crime. More and more criminals are not going to court, he says. The mass of instructions on law and order make the maintenance of law and order more difficult. The officers of law and order have little legal protection. There has been little progress in the 2 months since the state planning committee was asked to look into the lack of police cars.

Samsonov says alcoholism cannot be divorced from criminality. Why has the anti-alcohol campaign disappeared from the media, he asks. Seventy percent of murders are carried out by drunken persons. A single unified government program to fight drunkenness and alcoholism is called for, which will include the education of children. Children are being led to a life of crime through the medium of alcohol. Children are also being perverted by imported films showing violence and disgusting eroticism, says Simsonov. There should be new state checks on every citizens' income, he says.

At 1818 GMT, the timebell rings. Samsonov adds that organized criminals use the railways and there should be a check on what is transported by rail.

At 1820 GMT, (Maratulin) states that people are afraid to go out onto the streets. Organized criminals are becoming ever more violent and better equipped. Great attention has been paid to organised group crime, we are behind the United States both in crime and in crime-prevention, he says. (Maratulin) goes on to give examples of crime in his own Moscow rayon. Some areas of the country are even worse. Society should be mobilized. There are not enough officers of law and order. People are leaving because of poor pay. The prestige of the bodies of law and order should be raised. The police should be divided into all-union and local branches. He proposes accelerating the adoption of the law on the Soviet police. People's deputies get told that the wrong people are being sent to prison and the wrong people are being let off. This situation must be rectified, says (Maratulin). He adduces an example from his own rayon in which a criminal gets off free. In all, about a third of criminals caught are freed on technicalities, he says.

At 1831 GMT, Setkin says that to achieve something, a destination, route, and orientational points must be established. He says that previous speakers have gotten stuck on the way to the final destination. He asks why there is rising crime in the Soviet Union. He says that Nazi Germany educated its youth for war and asks: What are the Soviets doing with their youth? Nothing. The process of forming a personality over 20 years is very complex, he says. Setkin considers that one of the reasons for the increase in crime is the neglect of education. Economies are made on all social clubs such as Dosaaf (Voluntary society for the promotion of the army, aviation, and navy) and the Komsomol. He quotes Karl Marx on youth employment and quotes Lenin as saying the book learning is worth nothing without struggle and toil. Setkin comes out against facile slogans such as "thank you for our childhood, Comrade Stalin." Youth problems should be discussed now, not next year, he affirms.

1839 GMT

LD2212204889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1839 GMT on 22 December continues its recorded relay of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1840 GMT, Varennikov speaks on criminality and army discipline. Measures on achieving a new level of training of military personnel are being carried out, he says. Reforms in the army are well under way. The public is being kept informed. The year of 1985 was the year when crimes in the army peaked. Democratization is going ahead in the army. All measures are being employed to put the army in order. The military districts are happy to receive delegations from okrugs and republics to examine the state of affairs, and this should continue, Varennikov affirms. Crime has not decreased this year compared to the level of last year. The army reflects society, he says. Varennikov thanks Gorbunov for the remark that the army is an all-union matter.

Varennikov says that in the spring, 13% of those accepted into the army were former criminals. The Lithuanian education minister has cancelled basic training. Landsbergis has said that the soviet army is not considered the Lithuanian's own army. The roots of crime should be eliminated. Therefore the legislature in force should be fulfilled, including that on military construction. Some organizations are trying to torpedo universal military service, he says. This is because they call the army an army of occupation. Nowhere else is this discrimination against the army experienced.

Varennikov says the law of defense of the USSR and universal military service should be settled. At 1850 GMT, the timebell is heard. Varennikov goes on to say that certain bodies are aspiring towards power under the pretext of glasnost and democracy. The slogans of the IRG (Engineer Reconnaissance Group) are pushing the country towards anarchy. The army is for order, says Varennikov, and insults and attacks should not be allowed. General Surkov should not have been attacked; he helped in the earthquake and we should take our hats off to him, stresses Varennikov.

At 1854 GMT, Safiullin says that the legal protection of the police should be increased as well as their ranks. He agrees with previous speakers on improving their social conditions. The police protect the citizens while the Ministry of Defense protects the country as a whole. Improving the police is not the key issue, he says. In the amnesty of the past 3 years, a large army of criminals has been let out into society. Thus, the stratum of criminals, tramps, prostitutes, etc, has increased and they are influencing Soviet youth.

Safiullin says that labor collectives should be given incentives to employ young people, including those with previous convictions and drug addicts. Criminals are not born so, he says, they are influenced by social factors. Safiullin enumerates previous speeches which he agrees with. He complains that there are no works of art which propagandize good qualities. Some newspapers give the impression that there are no labor collectives and workers. The social issues of youth should be resolved at the state level. Safiullin says that democracy must be defended. He appeals to all the citizens of the fatherland to settle such issues immediately.

At 1904 GMT, Kalmykov notes that the beginning of the discovery or organized crime was at the end of the 1970's in Moscow. This danger continued to grow. In 13 surveyed areas, there exist from 2 to 5 groups of from 50 to 300 criminals. He quotes the example of Colombia and asks for foresight. It is accepted that reasons for organized crime are the economy, over-centralization, and the new cooperatives. Today, 82% of cooperatives work in the state sector. By this they legally accumulate state money.

Kalmykov says there is general group crime and administrative crime. The second is more dangerous because it is concealed by administrators. What is to be done, he asks. Bakatin suggested many measures. One measure is to adopt the law on ownership to change economic relations radically. An expert group of deputies should be involved in the struggle against organized crime, said Bakatin. Kalmykov says that specialists from outside the Supreme Soviet should also be brought in. The system of investigative organs are divided between the KGB, MVD, and procuracy. At the 19th party conference, the proposal of creating a single organ was made. Finally, a new criminal code should be set up with a differentiated approach to organized crime, concludes Kalmykov.

1913 GMT

LD2212210489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1913 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1914 GMT, Maltsev quotes Korolenko from the 19th century who said that the state was hiding crime figures. There are 2 million weddings and 1 million divorces per annum. Five million children have had dealings with the police in 5 years. The millions of children from broken homes are changing history. Everyone saw the Armenian earthquake, he says, but we would be horrified if we could see what was happening to young people. Ignorance is spreading everywhere. Maltsev says that Bakatin mentioned the church and culture. In the United States, there are tax advantages for donations to culture. Taxing creative unions in the USSR will close them. Maltsev asks for the congress to put forward a law on freedom of conscience. The country's renaissance depends on the people's deputies. Discussion of the 6th paragraph has only heightened tension, he says. The eastern Europeans have found the idea of national consensus; We must find

the idea of multinational consensus. In the present unpredictable circumstances, a rise in crime is unavoidable, says Maltsev. The country cannot take another civil war. Maltsev says that 77% of new recruits drink and that conditions are harsh for young missile troops. Putting such people in charge of missiles is crazy, he says.

At 1929 GMT, Tsybukh says that youth crime rise is not surprising since the older generation has stolen their soul. Fortunately, this only relates to a section of youth, but a considerable one. The energy of youth must be directed towards positive objectives. Tsybukh says that dissatisfaction is growing among youth and one must be blind not to see this. The first congress charged the Council of Ministers with preparing an all-union program. Why then did Bakatin and Sukharev speak today? The organs of law and order are repeating the thesis of improving their efficiency instead of playing a preventative role, he said.

Tsybukh proposes creating an executive body under the Supreme Soviet together with the expert commission already mentioned by other speakers. Only this can combat organized crime, he says. Tsybukh asks a number of questions, including whether the relationship between the police and the fire service is just. Millions of adolescents are suffering from nothing to do, says Tsybukh. He concludes by talking about the creation of an organ to investigate youth questions.

At 1940 GMT, Metropolitan Ridiger takes the floor. He says he was struck by Bakatin and Sukharev when they spoke about the loss of moral values. Only a rebirth of morality can get us out of our crisis. What about the 10 commandments he asks. They would, if learned from childhood, help prevent crime. The law on freedom of worship will, he hopes, be exaimined by the Supreme Soviet and adopted. Many religious organizations have, of late, been heavily involved in combating crime, and sermons have been preached from pulpits on this. Lately, churches and religious organizations have discovered a new field of activity—work with people incarcerated in prisons and camps. so far as they are able, the churches will continue to try to turn people to working for the benefit of society at large, he says.

Ridiger goes on to discuss the tragic events in the western Ukraine connected with the Uniate Church. Unfortunately, he says, he has to report that in Lvov and various other oblasts of the Ukraine, Orthodox churches are being seized, and this has led to the death of one Lvov priest, and to another priest being hospitalized. These arbitrary actions have been perpetrated by people who call themselves Christians, he says one gets the impression that someone wants to stoke up tension in interethnic relations. Ridiger calls for urgent steps to be taken to prevent any further violations.

1952 GMT

LD2212211889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1952 GMT on 22 December continues its recording of the 22 December session of the Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1953 GMT, Deputy Strukov takes over the platform. He attacks the black economy as probably the prime factor behind the growth in organized crime. There is, he says, a shortage of reason, which manifests itself in many aspects, such as the drive to eliminate Russian as the national language. It is fashionable to say that we have been destroying socialism for 70 years, Strukov says, and he gives some examples of this thinking. The timebell sounds, and Strukov continues to speak. Video shots of the hall show deputies shifting restlessly. The timebell sounds again, but he continues to speak. It sounds a third time and he assures the chair that he is concluding. He appears to favor harsh measures against hardened criminals. Strukov concludes at 2009 GMT.

At 2009 GMT, Lukyanov says the session is ending. He turns the platform over to Gorbachev.

At 2010 GMT, Gorbachev discusses the situation in Romania, noting that a Romanian Army official has asked the whole army to support the drive for freedom. According to Bucharest Radio, Ceausescu has been arrested. This is met with applause. Gorbachev proposes that the congress send a short message to the people of Romania, assuring the citizens of Romania of our traditional feelings of good-neighborliness and friendship.

At 2011 GMT, Lukyanov asks for any other opinions on the statement. There are none. A vote is taken. One deputy is against adopting the statement, but it is approved by the overwhelming majority.

At 2012 GMT, a deputy is given the floor to point out that his name appeared on a document although he had nothing to do with it. Lukyanov reports that another complaint of a similar mistake had been received from Deputy Poltoranin. An unidentified deputy takes the podium to interrupt Lukyanov, but his remarks are unmonitorable. Lukyanov continues with a few notes, including one that complains that blue-collar workers seldom get the floor. He explains that 1,649 deputies have asked to speak; only 334 have been able to do so. Several more procedural announcements are made, including one to 'bid farewell' to the deceased Mazur in the lunch hour from 1200 to 1300 tomorrow. It is also announced that the soviet committee for the defense of peace has minted a special ruble-cum-dollar. The proceeds from the sale of this souvenir will got to help children suffering from the effects of radiation. The session then ends.

22 Dec Congress of People's Deputies' Speeches

Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin

LD2212223689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1513 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Speech by Internal Affairs Minister Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin at 22 December session of USSR Congress of People's Deputies at Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies:

As already has been pointed out more than once, perestroyka has become irreversible in the course of the main strategy of political ideas. At the same time, the fact that social tension is growing is indisputable. Acts of civil disobedience, direct violence against people, blockades, demonstrations and meetings of protest, and strikes have become virtually a daily occurrence.

Last year, 194 meetings were held every month. This year's figure is already 400. In the February-November period alone, strikes were held at 1,500 enterprises with the participation of 1.4 million people. Criminal offenses have increased sharply. There are more and more instances of various forms of lawlessness.

This would appear to be illogical. Perestroyka, which has been approved by the people, has become irreversible, but tension among the people is increasing. However, there can be no revolutionary processes without social tension, without steps backward, and without a temporary deterioration in the situation of the masses. Perestroyka is a peaceful revolution which was started from the top and powerfully supported from below, and all the numerous contradictions here can be eliminated within the framework of democracy and parliamentary struggle.

The country has a future to look forward to, but endurance and responsibility are required. These would seem to be very straightforward words, but I dare say you won't find other words now. In the present situation of imbalance and tensions, when both old and new forms are simultaneously exerting an influence on society and the economy, it is vitally important not to lose the initiative and a long-term perspective and to refrain from all steps that destablize society and the state.

In getting to the actual subject of the report, I did not have the right to omit to mention this, because the principal guarantee of preserving stability can be provided not by the activity of the law enforcement or administrative systems, but only by active political initiative that tries to anticipate events, channeling the contradictions and tensions in society in a constructive and consolidatory direction in good time.

All measures to intensify the struggle against the most dangerous and most developed organized forms of crime, as well as crime as a whole, can only yield results as part of a package of general political, economic, social, moral, and ethical transformations. Be that as it may, the concern of the Soviet people and of the deputies who express their interests and the demands for immediate and resolute action to be taken against the criminal world are absolutely justified. They are fully shared by the government and our whole system of criminal justice.

Crime has risen, sharply risen, in the country.

I must make a certain digression here. There are two extreme viewpoints on this matter. The first is the most widespread. It is dominated by emotion, eye-catching headlines, fantastic figures for robberies, and a savoring of ruthlessness and violence. Inaccurate and sometimes simply unsubstantiated assertions are made here. In a word, there is an attempt to whip up hysteria.

The representatives of the second viewpoint, on the other hand, believe that nothing extraordinary is taking place. Everything is in the natural order of things. It is not the first crime wave in our history. As far as hysteria is concerned, it is even claimed that the militia is trying to frighten people on purpose to grab more funding from the state and, allegedly, to revert again to lawlessness.

Neither one nor the other are correct. We must not go to extremes. Thus enough, the crime rate even in the current year, 1989, will be lower by an order of magnitude than in the developed capitalist countries. Nor is it the highest in the entire history of criminal statistics. This situation is extremely serious, however.

It is now hard to dispute the manifest unreadiness of the law enforcement system for the highest crime growth rates. They grew from month to month in 1988, they reached a peak in January of this year, and all year they have stayed stable at 33-34%.

An analysis of the causes is an analysis of the crisis phenomena in the sphere of production and distribution and of the mounting imbalances in economic, political, and social development as well as in the completely natural collapsed hopes of holding back the mounting wave of crime only by means of humanization and only by means of economizing in the repressions of crime without an outlay on social adaption and rehabiliation.

In the current year, it must be said, the position has partially changed and the government has adopted a course of reinforcing the criminal justice bodies, but this is a lengthy process requiring considerable resources.

Detailed statistical material was distributed to all deputies in advance. I should like to draw your attention just to the fact that negative changes have occurred also in the qualitative characteristic of crime. It has assumed a clearly expressed selfish and grasping orientation. Piratic acts, robberies, thefts, and embezzlements now account for two thirds of the total number of crimes. Their rate of growth is almost double the general rate of crime increase and has now reached 60-75%. The rate of increase is particularly high in Moscow, the capitals of the union republics, oblast centers, and other large cities.

Selfish motives have become a normal phenomenon too in the perpetration of murders.

With a renewed increase in drunkenness the crime associated with this phenomenon has again begun to increase.

Twenty-one percent more crimes have been committed by minors. Today the discussion must be about organized crime. Crime among minors is, strictly speaking, another topic. However, if society seriously intends to combat the most dangerous forms of crime, it must begin precisely from this: the elimination of the numerous reasons attracting teenagers to crime. At present, the level of crime among 17-year-olds is four times higher than among those over the age of 30, and the most alarming thing is that this process is highly dynamic.

The aggressiveness and brutality of criminals and their opposition to the forces of law and order are increasing. In the first 9 months of the current year alone, 146 Interior Ministry [MVD] staff members were killed and 905 were wounded in halting crimes and defending public order. This is regrettably more than all last year, and regrettably considerably more.

There has been an exacerbation of recidivist crime. The proportion of recidivism exposed annually amounts to 25-28%. However, it is actually considerably higher. Corrective labor institutions, where the situation has been sharply complicated, now contain 310,000 criminals who have been conviced 3 or more times.

The professionalization of the criminal element is noted. The criminal activities of a significant number of people are being transformed into their main source of existence.

To some extent, one has to admit that society itself makes for this by not providing guaranteed job placement and by continuing to restrict residence permits for people released from places of confinement. As a result, criminal traditions and customers are revived. They are propagandized among and actively inculcated into young people. The rapid increase in crime and qualitative changes of its structure are conditioned by the aggravation of conflicts in various spheres of social life, moral degradation, the imperfection of the legislation, and serious faults in the practice of implementing the law, which naturally results in the acceleration of the processes of criminal development as a social phenomenon, to a more intensive formation of its most dangerous organized forms. That is, we are talking here about the so-called organized crime.

At this point, I must stop once more to declare to the deputies that not everyone agrees with this. There is an opinion that in our country there is no organized crime. The argument runs: Any crime committed in the country be fully accounted for by the provisions of the present criminal law. You will not find there the idea or disposition of organized crime. So if there is no such idea, there is no such phenomenon. Therefore, it is not by accident that time and again by organized crime group crime is meant. Rather scrupulous statistics are kept so that each group of youngsters ravaging some garden increases the statistics of this so-called organized crime. Unfortunately, for the time being, there are no other statistics, although maybe we should answer the questions of "What is organized crime?" and "Do we have it?"

Likewise, the MVD leadership cannot subscribe to the view of those authors who depict in magazines organized crime as a pyramid, on top of which there is some center, some papa cosa nostra, ruling over all the organized crime of the country. There is no and there can be no such center and it is no good analyzing such primitive outlines. Things are much more complicated. Unlike those authors, the MVD does not consider crime separately from common crime. Organized crime is a natural stage of its development. It is a system of links that forms naturally within the criminal environment and that leads to concentration and monopolization of certain kinds of criminal activity.

Without in any measure laying claim here to legal precision in my formulations, I believe, exclusively from the viewpoint of evaluations of the essentials, that organized crime can be regarded as a complex system with diverse ties of various types among groups carrying out criminal activity as their business and seeking to ensure their safety with the assistance of bribery or corruption.

In any event, it is evident that living as parasites in our society are criminal structures whose foundation is the financial potential of the shadow economy, while their roof is corrupted officials, principally in the law enforcement system, as well as degenerates from the party, soviet and state apparatus.

This is the source of the exceptional social threat of organized crime. The shadow economy, which has developed in the country on the basis of inefficiency, large-scale theft, and speculation is a milieu which nourishes organized crime.

In his report, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, when talking about the shadow economy, justly noted that our law enforcement system is not prepared to combat it.

That is certainly the case. The shadow economy accompanies the official economy of any country. If there is a shortage on the—in inverted commas—white market, that item will definitely be on the black market.

According to foreign specialists' assessments, the USSR is among the 20 countries of the world with the most developed shadow economy. Its peculiar characteristics in the Soviet Union are defined by the administrative and command method of managing the national economy, by numerous shortages in the goods and services market, and by the rigid, funded distribution of resources.

In approximately 30 countries of the world, there is systematic research into the shadow economy and the causes and trends of its development, and methods for its quantitative measurement have been elaborated.

Unfortunately, research into the shadow economy in the USSR has not been ordered by government bodies and economic departments and has virtually not been organized in the country's scientific institutions. Investigative research by individual authors on their own initiative does not have the status of work which has undergone strict scientific examination and state registration. Therefore, the measurements of the shadow economy in the USSR which exist at present are exclusively evaluative in nature—although, of course, they cannot be anything but evaluative—and express the authors' personal viewpoint.

The majority of academics consider the figure of R70-90 billion the most reliable for the overall scale of the shadow economy. An increase to R100-130 billion in the next few years is forecast.

The total turnover of the shadow economy includes overstatement of data and receipt of unearned salary and bonuses, direct theft of sums of money, proceeds from the sale of output of shadow industry derived from stolen raw and other materials, transactions not involving goods, speculation—mainly in imported and contraband goods—drugs dealing, and the shadow market in services provided for payment.

Since 1986 bodies combatting the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation have brought to light more than 1 million economic crimes, including 40,000 thefts on a large and especially large scale, 28,000 cases of bribe-taking, and approximately 170,000 instances of speculation. Infringements committed in office and economic violations have involved 1.2 million people. It has to be admitted here that these statistics and law enforcement practice do not reflect the real crime-generating processes in the economy.

First and foremost, the high degree of latency and the hidden nature of such infringements of the law should be taken into account. In the economic sphere, up to 70% of crimes are not exposed, including up to 95% of cases of bribe-taking and embezzlement.

In preventing and revealing economic crime by monitoring and inspection, financial and law enforcement bodies remain ineffective. The apparatus for combatting the embezzlement of socialist propety [BKhSS], especially during recent times, under conditions of growing demands for the completeness and comprehensiveness of proof, has not been able to demonstrate sufficient professionalism and has not been in posession of the economic and legal means and methods for prophylactic work under conditions of the commencing economic reform.

It is precisely with the beginning of the economic reform that mercenary crimes have become more sharply active. New opportunities have appeared, above all the legalization of capital earned in the shadow economy and prospects for investing it in expanding both underground and legal production.

Stormy debates on ownership are now underway. The whole debate revolves around the main issue: whether to allow the private ownership of the means of production.

Some people propose that it be allowed, proceeding from the premise that has already been heard from this rostrum, that everything which permits man to be fed and his life to be made spiritually rich is expedient.

This is possible, but other questions also need to be answered. Who holds the so-called original capital? Are there such citizens in the USSR who are already now prepared to acquire the means of production and hire a working force? The main thing is: Who are they? Will arrant swindlers not exploit this opportunity? The question is by no means rhetorical.

In 1985, the embezzlements uncovered in the country on a large or especially large scale alone increased in comparison with 1971 fivefold and 62% of the total sum embezzled was gained by 4% of the embezzlers. Individuals have become the owners of extremely significant material valuables gained by illegal—I emphasize—means. One of the deputies who spoke expressed the wish that the internal affairs minister in his speech name specific individuals from among the underground millionaires. Unfortunately, you can probably clearly imagine, I cannot do this. You understand that the law courts decide who is guilty of crimes.

But I can report that the 629 people accused of embezzlement and bribe-taking at work—to a total of R1 million—have been prosecuted by justice bodies since 1985. Real valuables of a total worth of more than 1 million were confiscated from 63 of the accused included in this figure. So this issue does have a certain basis.

According to evaluations of academic economists, a much larger number of citizens in the country have fortunes of millions gained by illegal means. I am not citing these figures because their authenticity cannot be checked, but this would make it careless to no lesser degree not to take them into consideration.

Maybe these energetic private traders who are full of initiative, brought up in the profound traditions of enterprise and entrepreneurial ethics, will be able to feed people. However, it must be acknowledged that we do not have an ethic of private enterprise, rather there are the morals of the swindlers of the shadow economy. Before proposing a resolution of the basic issues, we need to think about the criminogenic consequences as well, at least to think about how to make society secure against the newly rich who have come to light. Of course, I should address this question first, including also the MVD.

Trade, the service sphere, the system of procurements, the meat and fish industries, cotton processing, car servicing enterprises, public catering, sports and cultural spectator events, and others have proved to be most affected by corruption and abuses.

In the past few years, organized crime has extended its influence to its traditional zones—prostitution, drug trafficking, and gambling. It is now becoming possible to earn easy money, so to speak, by acting as a go-between of one kind or another and by converting noncash resources into cash and cash into securities, hard currency, etc. There are various forms of machinations. The apparatus of the Department for Combatting Theft of Socialist Property recently thwarted an attempt by the Moscow cooperatives Tezey and Volga to obtain certificates to the sum of 23 million rubles in noncash payments from savings banks in a number of central oblasts with the intention of subsequently converting them to cash. Instances of corruption in the banking system have become more common. The cooperative Tellur, for instance, which has no facilities for processing secondary raw material, was granted credit of no less than 188 million rubles for such purposes without any checks being made. The bank employees were given a bribe of 160,000 rubles for handing it over in cash.

This is still being investigated, but the manager of the Armenian republican savings bank, Abovyan, who set up an intricate system of bribery and extortion to obtain subsidies and loans, has already been sentenced by a people's court to 9 years in prison.

Now that an open door policy is being pursued, one of the most promising areas of organized crime is the establishment of contacts with criminals abroad, an interest in foreign firms, and the infiltration of organized criminal communities into joint enterprises. Here we have to be particularly attentive so as not to deal a blow to our foreign partners. And this is to say nothing of the reverse task—to protect ourselves against the international mafia.

For some reason, it has now become very unpopular, especially among legislators and journalists, to talk of cooperatives in unflattering terms. I want to state straight away that the law enforcement bodies also consider civilized cooperatives as a blessing, a major blessing. However, one cannot fail to see the crime-engendering side effects of the law on cooperatives adopted in 1988. The virtual lack of control over cooperatives has created ideal opportunities for black market sharks to legalize and multiply what they have already stolen. Last year 1,500 law infringements were detected in the cooperative sphere; over the first 9 months of this year, there were almost 6,000 and the number continues to grow dramatically. And even this figure is far from the real picture.

The chairman of the Narek cooperative in Armenia stole a total of 700,000 rubles; the manager of the Rossiya cooperative in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic stole around 500,000 rubles. This is a list that could be continued, but I don't want to bore you here. Exploiting the continuing imperfection in the criminal code, under which only citizens and not legal persons can be charged with speculation, a substantial proportion of cooperative workers have rushed into spheres of activity where one can extract maximum income without producing goods or increasing the volume of services, have gone in for buying up and reselling, creating artificial shortages, and inflating prices. The USSR Supreme Soviet recently closed that loophole by restricting retail-procurement robbery of the population.

At the same time, it must be said that the cooperative workers themselves are more and more frequently coming up against extortionists of various stripes, both in the form of officials taking bribes for allocating premises and raw materials and of people who use direct violence and blackmail. The head of the board of Moscow cooperative workers, Fedorov, has already made a statement to this effect in the journal OGONEK. He calculated—and I think cooperative workers know how to count—that the representatives of Moscow's cooperatives have spent 31 million rubles to buy off, as he put it, various kinds of people. Whether this is the true figure or not is hard to say, especially since Comrade Fedorov failed to name even a few of the people to whom bribes have been given. Still, we are hoping on cooperation from cooperative workers both in eradicating corruption in local soviet and economic bodies and in the drive against racketeering, in thwarting the infiltration of organized crime and its control over the cooperative sector in the interests of real honest cooperative workers themselves, of consumers, and of all Soviet people.

The process of development of organized crime in our country has not yet achieved mature forms. However, this is no reason for any lack of concern or relaxation.

The underestimating of this phenomenon and the actual absence of a coordinated and purposeful fight against it could quickly remove that immaturity. A further strengthening of criminal communities has been taking place. Six organized criminal groups numbering in all over 1,000 people were recently uncovered in the Moscow region. They have shared out spheres of influence, are controlling cooperatives, markets and groups of speculators, foreign currency speculators, and prostitutes and are engaging in crooked car-sales deals, robberies, extortion, and apartment burglaries. A number of members of the groups are in cooperatives, they buy up and resell computers and conduct various nongoods operations.

At present, the main internal affairs directorate of Moscow city soviet executive committee is finishing investigating a criminal case relating to one of the criminal groups. It includes the chairmen of a number of middleman cooperatives, scientific staff members, specialists from a number of research institutes, and the director of a scientific center.

With a view to embezzling state funds and using forged documents, these people obtained a credit of 32 million rubles at a Zhilsotsbank branch. In our country, it has become altogether very easy to obtain credit at the bank. They then transferred the money to the accounts of various cooperatives, from which at the moment of arrest they had managed to receive 7.25 million rubles in ready cash.

A total of 1.3 million rubles in cash, about 300,000 rubles in currency, items of jewelry, and equipment to the value of about 2.5 million rubles— 4.5 million rubles in all—was confiscated from members of this criminal group. The group possessed firearms including automatic weapons. The saddest thing is that to ensure their personal safety and to guard large sums during their transfer they had hired militia staff members to whom they had been paying out large amounts of money. This group has been exposed.

Criminal communities are at work in practically all regions of the country. In Central Asia the corrupt links of one out of two groups have been exposed. Illegal operations in furs by organized criminal groups have been registered in the Far East, illegal operations in caviar in Astrakhan, and so on.

During the current year, 1,600 criminal groups have been exposed throughout the country. This is 600 more than in all of 1988, but this is only the tip of the iceberg of organized crime and its less skilled stratum. For the time being, figuratively speaking, the mushrooms are being cut down but the mushroom spawn remains.

This view is fairly widespread among the population. When asked what most of all is hampering the restructuring of the economy, 42% of those questioned replied that it is resistance by bureaucrats, while 24%—the second largest group of the population—linked their answer with the activities of organized crime and the black market dealers.

One should bear in mind that considering the active politicization of society the criminal world too cannot fail to be politicized. Given a definite degree of organization and possessing real resources it is able to promote the destablization of both the economy and also the political system and the national state setup. The elections to the bodies of state power cannot but be of interest to it.

One must presuppose the possible negative development of trends connected with the involvement of organized criminal gangs in provoking and taking part in exacerbating inter-ethnic relations. Individual cases of black economy dealers financing extremist nationalist acts of violence have already been revealed.

Various disguised methods are being used, ranging from the payment of earnings and expenses to deal souls, to making donations. In the towns of Margilan and Kokand, local pogrom-makers were supplied with vodka and provided with drugs and money.

Cases of material backing for extremism have also been noted in Baku and in the unlawful conveyance of munitions from Armenia to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

A very dangerous manifestation of organized crime is terrorism, the so-called contract killings of officials and citizens adopting an active stand in the fight against corruption.

Killings for these motives have been revealed in a number of the country's regions. In Chardzhou, Turkmenia, for instance, a former militia colonel hired the killers of obkom instructor Rozybayeva. That occurrence is widely known.

In Baku, Shiraliyev, director of the Bakpivo Association, was killed in return for a sum of 50,000 rubles.

The striving by criminal communities to enhance their mobility and levels of equipment and weaponry is increasing. Weapons and technical facilities are already being confiscated from the majority of criminal groups exposed. In Moscow during the current year, for instance, 13 cases have been registered of shooting incidents just between criminals themselves fighting for spheres of influence.

The number of thefts of munitions and weapons has increased by 50% this year alone. In 11 months, 821 cases were registered, and 174 of these are still unsolved.

The situation is particularly bad in educational establishments, the MVD and the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF], as well as in the armed forces. Incidentally, I should say here that all military crimes come under the jurisdiction of the Military Procurator's Office and that the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry does not deal with them.

To date, the disappearance of around 9,000 rifled weapons, including 732 automatic weapons and 180 machine guns, is being investigated. Ministries and departments, including the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, must ensure far stricter procedures for registering and safeguarding weapons, ammunition, and explosive substances in the country as a whole.

Bringing to an end the information section of the report, it has to be said that effective crime fighting is being hampered by the obsolete provisions of the legislation in force and by vacillation in the practice of law enforcement. The legislative provisions stipulating liability for brigandage remain virtually unused; only six such charges have been brought in the country to date. Yet over the first 9 months of this year in the Ukraine alone, 245 criminal groups were caught after committing around 2,000 crimes, including 20 murders and more than 300 cases of robbery, burglary and extortion, and 337 items of weaponry were confiscated from them. Despite the proven fact of their being patently and continually armed, not one of those groups has been charged with banditry. This is also due to imperfections

in the demarcation of jurisdiction and to the excessive caution and timidity of the law enforcement bodies in bringing the full severity of the legal provisions to bear.

We ought, perhaps, to give some thought to the justice behind the view that being equable toward criminals means acting cruelly toward honest people. Unjustified liberalism in selecting crime fighting measures has had the result that the number of people on the run from investigation and trial has reached 110,000, with 33,000 individuals still on the wanted list today.

Certain changes are, of course, taking place. The number of detainees in the first 10 months of this year was 41% higher than last year, while the number of arrests increased by 37%. Nevertheless, there are still far from isolated instances of individuals quilty of grave crimes being given more than liberal treatment.

Distortions in the moral sphere, falling discipline, legal nihilism, as well as the ideology of enrichment, materailism and admiration for businesmen, so to speak, that has been vigorously implanted of late, and a humiliating sympathy, so to speak, for ordinary working life, which it is now unfashionable to describe as anything but wretched: These are negative factors that both hold back the fight against organized crime and, above all, act as incentives for crime itself.

It ought to be noted that one in three members of collectives in which large-scale theft has been committed and exposed were totally indifferent toward it. Over the past few years—1980-87—the number of managers involved in economic crime has increased almost three fold, the number of accountants two fold and the number of CPSU members by 75%, while there has been a four fold increase in the number of Komsomol members guilty of blackmarketeering.

Overall, we are seeing a serious drop in the level of activity of the social crime prevention system. Without the slightest resistance from public organizations, the work of the volunteer public order militia is being wound down; the number of public order volunteers fell by 2.2 million over that period, and comrades' courts and public law-and-order protection points are becoming less active. There is now even a peculiar theory whch seeks to justify this passivity—to put it mildly: We have no need of dilettantes, it goes; let everyone get on with their business, and if you don't have enough militiamen we are willing to pay your wages. We are convinced that nothing and nobody, no professionals, are in a position to replace the irreplaceable role of the public, of the informal organizations, of the Afgantsy servicemen, of the retirees, the trade unions, the mercy society, the Komsomol etc.... Without public assistance and suport, we cannot function. Admittedly, it must be said that the situation has now begun to improve somewhat.

All this has already been noted by deputies at the first congress, who deemed it necessary to decisively reinforce law and order in the country, to ensure citizens' safety, and to step up the drive against corruption, organized crime, theft, and bribery by eliminating their causes. I'm quoting from the congress decision here—this is a very important point: By eliminating their causes. The USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to draw up a program for fighting crime and to adopt measures to enhance and reinforce the material and technical provision of courts, procuracy, investigatory, and militia bodies and to improve their employees' living conditions.

Six months have passed, and today, reporting on the intensification of the fight against organized crime, I cannot omit mentioning what has already been done to fulfill the directives of the First Congress of People's Deputies, particularly since, as you remember, Deputies [name indistinct] and (?Sorokin) suggested that this should be not a report but a report back by the minister of internal affairs.

I agree with putting the question that way, but I would ask you also to agree with the fact that there are no objective conditions in the country now on whose basis one could really count upon removing the causes that give rise to crime. On the contrary, moving toward a multiple economy, toward the market, toward differentiation of incomes and so forth, we must harbor no illusion that the causes of crime are disappearing in this complex transitional stage and that our law enforcement system, which has lagged behind in its development, will acquire in 6 months such strength that it will be capable of halting the objectively inevitable increase in crime. There are no simple and inexpensive solutions here, nor can there be. Organized crime, like crime as a whole, is a complex problem.

The process of the conceptual restructuring of our enormous system—it, too, it has to be said, is fairly large and has its own momentum—is fully interconnected and is closely interwoven with the economic reform, with imparting new content to our federation, with the political reforms, and with the new international policy. Without taking all of these factors into consideration, it is impossible to build effective law structures and the legislative foundation for successfully countering organized crime.

Here for the moment we are lagging behind. Hard though it may be to say so, I consider that the militia is working, applying itself to the utmost, but it is working inefficiently, it is not working in a modern way. Furthermore, the main weakness lies not in the ranks and the noncommissioned officers; the main weakness is in the management. Today the MVD collegium sees its main task, or one of its main tasks, in the further improvement of this.

It is indeed in the organization of the struggle against organized crime that we assess our work as being most unsatisfactory. Here quite simply there was no definite clarity, as they say, and until literally very recently, until the interim committee under the chairmanship of Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov had heard the report

on this issue, we did not even have unity in defining the concept of organized crime. Once again I am compelled to say this honestly.

Now this lack of agreement has been overcome. However, the setting up of new organizational forms which are not provided with reliable cadres and which are not provided with reliable protection against betrayal and corruption is not yet yielding the return on which we will of course be counting in the future.

It has to be said that work on bringing to light and eradicating corruption among militiamen was weakened sharply in the MVD system. This year 21% more bribe-takers among MVD staff have been exposed jointly with the State Security Committee and the Procuracy in 11 months than last year. However, this does not yet meet the scale of the task.

It is possible to form an idea of the scale of treachery in our system by just the following example. Last Septmeber when a search was made in the garage and apartment of an investigator of Atbasarskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department in Tselinograd Oblast following his arrest in connection with a road traffic incident, 114 hidden criminal files were discovered, covering a period from 1970 to 1986. A further 123 criminal files were discovered missing when an immediate count was made in that oblast.

A check throughout the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] as a whole revealed that more than 5,000 criminal files were missing. The issue was examined by the USSR MVD collegium. A number of senior staff of the republic were dismissed from the MVD bodies. An investigation is being carried out.

A general audit of the availability of criminal files is now being carried out in all ministries and directorates of internal affairs and the way in which they are accounted for and kept is being organized.

Good order and decency in the militia are the first condition for a successful fight against crime, and even more so when it is organized crime. There will be order in the militia. With the active support of the government and the interested participation of deputies in making more specific the work of the interim committees for fighting crime in a number of republics and oblasts, much is being done now by collectives of enterprises, establishments, and kolkhozes in giving real material and financial help to the law enforcement bodies.

We are grateful for the attention and assistance offered to us on their own initiative by a number of institutes of the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology, associations in the military-industrial complex, and a number of industrial ministries. The attention and support given to the militia have grown noticeably, and we are under an obligation to hold this dear and we will do so.

In the republics and oblasts with the most complicated operational situation the Union MVD has set up temporary interregional criminal investigation subdetachments and special teams for the detection of the most dangerous crimes which have received wide public repercussions.

Specialized subdetachments which are engaged in bringing to light and exposing dangerous criminal associations have been set up in most ministries of internal affairs and directorates of internal affairs.

To investigate this category of cases, a special section has been set up at the chief investigation directorate. A total of 1,700 investigators have begun on this work.

The ministry has been allocated funds to enable it to increase the establishment number of investigators by another 5,000 in 1990. Measures to provide them with material incentives are being implemented. The situation here is being brought back to normal after a long period of disarray. As a result of the increase in the establishment strength of investigators, their shortage fell by 34% in the July-November period. This is a good symptom. The professional status of chiefs of investigation directorates, departments, and sections has been enhanced. The training facilities for the investigation bodies have been improved and provision has been made for the establishment of a second higher school for investigators in Krasnoyarsk and an institute for improving the qualifications of militia and investigation department employees in Kalinin.

The forms and methods of joint activity during investigation of crimes committed by members of criminal groups and improving supervision of the observance of socialist legality have been drawn up together with procuracy bodies.

We intend to place considerably greater reliance on the enormous potential of the people's control bodies, which are undergoing reorganization, by cooperating with them.

On the basis of an order signed jointly with the chairman of the USSR KGB, the strategy and tactics have been defined for operational investigative measures in the struggle against organized crime with interregional links and contacts with abroad, as has the procedure for cooperation between special subunits of the USSR MVD and KGB bodies both in the center and locally. Joint plans for operational investigative measures concerning the most dangerous crimes and criminal groups have been worked out and are being implemented. KGB - MVD coordinating councils have been set up and are in operation. This phenomenon is a complete novelty for us. I may be talking about this in detail perhaps, but this is a completely new and characteristic phenomenon at this time. The relevant exchange of information is being organized. KGB subunits are in an increasingly substantial way gearing themselves to rendering assistance and aid to internal affairs and procuracy bodies.

Some examples of joint work can already, of course, be cited. For instance, on 23 July of this year, the director of the Cherepovets metallurgical combine received a letter containing a demand for the payment of 60,000 rubles in exchange for his life and the safety of the workers in one of the shops, which, if the demand was not met, was to be blown up. The news media have already reported this. As a result of an operation carried out jointly by the KGB and the MVD, the criminal was detained. Similar cases will continue to be given wide publicity.

On 12 September, the Kemerovo Oblast KGB Directorate, jointly with the internal affairs directorate of this oblast executive committee, arrested a dangerous criminal group which had committed a number of audacious crimes on the territory of the oblast. Weapons, ammunition, and forged passports and documents were seized.

A special role belongs to cooperation in the struggle against corruption. United and joint efforts made it possible to expose criminal groups which had corrupt connections in the law enforcement bodies—to be exposed in Moscow, Tula, Kalinin, and other towns. But, as I have said, this is just the beginning.

In fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision "On the Organization of Work To Carry Out the Instructions of the Congress," fundamental work is also being carried out for the longer term.

On instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers, the MVD, the Justice Ministry, and the Councils of Ministers of the union republics are pursuing the implementation of an all-union program of struggle against crime. It is based on a theoretical model worked out at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

One cannot but agree with its authors who are right to believe that a situation has arisen in our society in which pretty well the only means of waging the struggle against crime is the criminal prosecution of criminal offenders. Yet crime prevention and the elimination of the causes of crime have been proclaimed since 1961 to be the chief thrust of policy, but remains no more than a slogan.

The criminal justice bodies only note the part of crime which they have wanted to register and actually are combatting not crime but indeed its consequences.

A program based on an integrated approach to influencing precisely those causes that give rise to crime and affecting a broad range of problems from the economy to education and from culture to religion and considering them in perspective is intended to remove these shortcomings. Its drafting will require a great deal of time and energy, but the first stage of this work has been completed. A draft of immediate measures to combat crime in the years 1990-91 which has been coordinated with the Councils of Ministers of union republics has been prepared and forwarded for consideration by the USSR Council of Ministers.

This draft provides for a serious technical reequipping of law enforcement bodies. Over 2 years it is proposed to allocate over 40,000 motor vehicles to internal affairs bodies—we have usually been getting 5,000 annually—including high performance vehicles, to provide proper communications, to begin the computerization of data banks and records, and to finish developing and applying in practice new means and methods of criminal identification, personnel protection, and active defense.

The program also provides for the full inventorying of weapons throughout the country and the creation of new systems for guarding installations, apartments, and citizens' property and for the emergency summoning of the militia.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of 4 August of this year, the government, State Planning Committee, and State Committee for Material and Technical Supply of the USSR have allocated additional equipment and material resoures during the current year to the value of almost 100 million rubles.

The 1990 state budget for the USSR MVD has been approved by the Supreme Soviet with an increase 13.6%. This is an unprecedented increase and the budget will amount to 6.4 billion rubles.

However,one cannot fail to note that it is planned to increase by only 1.9% expenditure on the militia from repubican and local budgets, which make up a considerable proportion of the general structure. This is to say that the increase from the union budget will be 13.6%, and the increase from republican and local budgets 1.9%. This is certainly not the right proportion. One can talk all you like about intensifying the fight, but without increased resources words will be just words.

There are provisions that from 1 January the earnings will be increased of ordinary militiamen, the procuracy bodies, the courts, and investigatory and operational workers of the USSR MVD. At the same time, increasing the pay of the remaining categories of MVD staff members which, we hope, the government will be able to implement from the start of the second half-year of 1990 will require a further 700 million rubles from the union budget.

During the preparation of the report, a proposal arose which, perhaps, ought to be discussed. It was a proposal from the industrial sector ministries. The proposal is that, if collectives agree, up to 5% would be additionally directed in 1990 to developing criminal justice from the remnants of the development and economic incentive funds of industrial enterprises which they have not used.

One could speak of numerous other measures. However, for the time being, it is necessary as a whole to note that there has been no breakthrough in the main ratio. The growth in the remnant of unrevealed and uninvestigated crimes continues to outstrip the growth of crime. This is to say that the criminal crisis, about which we were speaking 6 months ago, has not been overcome. But at

the same time one cannot fail to say that these and other measures on the basis of more intensive and selfless work by the cadres of the MVD, investigations and the procurator's office, which have remained with practically the same numbers and whose load has sharply increased, have made it possible to uncover 14% more crimes as a whole compared with last year and 26% more serious crimes.

To intensify the fight against crime, it is necessary as a tactical immediate measure to continue to strengthen the whole system of criminal justice.

Additional forces and resources are needed. Although this matter has been submitted for consideration by the congress, responsibility for working on these measures and implementing them lies with the organs of executive power and criminal justice and by no means with the congress.

Nevertheless, let me touch on certain questions the solution to which depends on the legislative bodies. First, it seems that we have to begin to restore the former respect for the law. We are all witnesses to the fact that the union, but also first of all the republic, law creation and political practice have begun to leave behind the constitutional process. The previous discussion was developing approximately along the same line, so to speak. They have entered into a contradiction with the basic law. However strongly we may dislike our constitution, in a law-governed state—and we have firmly learned that we are such a state—one can only breach it in one way: by inserting changes into it according to the accepted procedure. No other means exist. Otherwise, the foundations of the whole law enforcement system collapse. This has already told, I must say, on the authority of the law, on the efficiency of the practice of law application, and at times places the criminal justice bodies in an ambiguous and at times simply hopeless position. There cannot be two laws on one and the same, so to speak, phenomenon. If the legislator allows himself to breach the basic law, how can he hope that the citizens will observe the laws of a less high order? I think these hopes are illusory. The more so as condemning the arbitrary rule and lawlessness of the past, talking about individual rights, the law-governed state, morals, and humanism, we have somehow by chance, imperceptibly, in a leisurely fashion, distorted our public awareness of the fact that many have confused democracy with the idea that everything is allowed and do not accept any requirements of discipline, legality, law and order; as well as any lawful—I stop here on purpose and stress—any lawful application of force by the authorities. Furthermore, they portray this as the end to democracy, to perestroyka, two steps backward and so on and so forth. It is not by accident that the pressure in various forms on the legislative and law enforcement bodies is increasing, and not merely moral pressure. The investigators and officials dispatched by the MVD increasingly frequently have to conduct investigation only accompanied by details of the internal troops. It was so in Fergana, in Abkhaziya, in Nagorno-Karabakh. The pressure on the procuracy bodies on courts is increasing. More and more actions from incited crowds demanding the release of detainees, the defendants and accused, are noted. Such cases have taken place in Moldavia, Georgia, Lvov, and there are many such cases. There are noisy, incited campaigns demanding the immediate release of one or other convict, or one or other person under investigation.

If we do not trust the militia, the court, and the procuracy, the investigation bodies, we must change them. There are certain procedures in this respect, but we must not interfere in their work which, incidentally, no one today would envy. The sessions of the supreme soviets of some of the republics took place in conditions of blatant pressurizing, but the most intolerable thing is that here and there legislators and law enforcement bodies are beginning to retreat in the face of arbitrary rule. Connivance and the gradual expansion of unpunished lawlessness may lead us to a point beyond which things will become completely uncontrollable. We must stop. Whoever does not respect the law must be obliged to respect force.

First and foremost, however, political steps are required. These should take the form of eliminating the lag between the ideas proclaimed by the party and the Congress of People's Deputies and the real legislative practice in implementing them. They alone can remove the tension by giving people guarantees, guarantees of the kind of society and federation and so forth that they expect. Mere words are now given a poor reception. Laws are needed, guarantees in laws.

However, now such a paradoxical situation has arisen, in a period when numerous urgent, serious amendments in the bases of our legislature are vitally necessary. The constantly and already professionally functioning, as we consider, powerful legislative potential of the USSR Supreme Soviet which has been created is not being used to the full, because the right of entering amendments now belongs exclusively to the congress. This is a paradox. Thus, it is necessary either to wait from congress to congress or to transgress against the constitution. Neither one nor the other is permissable. Everything is in the hands of the congress. The only way out of the situation which has arisen would be by a decision of the congress to invest the Supreme Soviet with the right to enter amendments to the constitution. This must be a tactical temporary measure in force only to the adoption by the congress of a new constitution. However, this would make it possible to intensify the legislative process without transgressing the basic law. In this way, we would really begin to establish respect for the law from the too, and then in time any legal measures in its defense would be perceived quite differently by society.

Moreover, I must say that no one—we are not asking, I mean the bodies of criminal justice—are not asking for any extraordinary measures, better normal legislative activity, but according to some kind of logical plan. It is very good that suddenly a law on the judicial system has

been adopted. But there just are not bases for criminal legislature, although there is a draft.

The development of the bases of the criminal legal proceedings is lagging behind and they have already come into contradiction with the new legislature on the judicial system. The criminal executive legislation is only at the initial stage of preparation, and all these draft laws should be examined in the sphere of material and procedural law simultaneously, in a common block. The adoption of these decisions, which are of fundamental importance for the efficiency of the system of law, and order of a law-based state, should not be delayed. It is necessary to to improve criminal and procedural forms, clear if only from such an example. I will allow myself to adduce a small, elementary example.

With the acute shortage of the operative-investigative apparatus, it is really suffocating. Due to our adherence to archaic concepts and rules, we are dreadfully wasteful in respect of live intellectual labor. It is sufficient to say that we have up to 6,000 workers who are each day busy with work which is of absolutely no use to anyone connected with the procedural formulation of so- called refusals to initiate criminal cases, due to so-called insignificance. Moreover, no one is capable of precisely formulating what insignificance. This is absolute subjectivism and absolutely destructive work.

Laws are needed on the rights and duties of the militia and the internal troops, on the legal profession, on the special situation regime, and on stepping up the legal protection for those working in the law enforcement system.

Taking into consideration the development of organized crime it is expedient that criminal law should envisage norms which would make it possible to bring people to account for establishing and taking part in organized criminal formations and to consider measures for protecting witnesses and those close to them. This is a very topical question.

The process of providing the militia with modern operational equipment for tackling crime is now unfolding slowly, though in general it has to be said that there is some speeding up. However, this could turn out to be simply a futile waste of money if our legislator is going to go on stubbornly failing to recognize in the courts evidence that has been obtained with the help of technical resources, film, video, and tape-recordings.

The USSR MVD has put forward a package of appropriate legislative acts as priority ones: These have been coordinated and discussed in the Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Justice with the involvement of scientists and practical workers.

Unfortunately, our proposals for a long time failed to find support. As a result, we have a very strange picture. Technical resources for obtaining evidence which are used in the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Poland, and so on—you can extend the list of states as far as you like—cannot be used in our country because they allegedly do not conform to the principles of a law-governed state. So what kind of states are those, then? The old method, based upon operational investigative work, is collapsing with all its might—it is collapsing with all its might. Operational staff, investigators, procurators, and judges are discredited by all manner of methods by the businessmen of organized crime. One way out remains—and this is what the result is—that of resorting to the extortion of the absolutely lawless investigative cooperatives that are heavily advertised in the press. That is to say of putting the whole of this activity into the hands of the cooperatives, no doubt.

I wonder who needs that? There is only one thing I can say—the militia does not need it. People need our proposals. We have taken account of the practice of law in action, the objective difficulties connected with uncovering the organizers of criminal formations. We have also taken account of the new position of our court system—perhaps a correct position—which is very strict today, and also the experience of many countries in the struggle against organized crime. It looks as though the issue is today finding its solution. I hope that we will not create artificial difficulties and delays for ourselves to the delight of those involved in organized crime and of corrupt officials. In actual fact, it is impossible to believe sincerely that crime can be defeated by stationing a militiaman on every square meter and by constantly increasing the numbers of the militia. It would be no bad thing to listen to the opinion of prominent jurists in Western countries who believe that one should rely mainly on the operational and technical penetration of the criminal world. We cannot avoid that.

My second proposal, the following proposal has been tabled: To set up, under the Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality and Law and Order, a standing commission of experts drawn from prominent academics and experienced practical officials from the law enforcement bodies—possibly not just from the law enforcement bodies, but also from the banking system and financial bodies and to give it the task of providing expert advice on draft acts in the sphere of economic activity, the credit and financial system, and foreign economic links from the viewpoint of forecasting and warning of possible consequences leading to crime. It will be harder to rectify mistakes later if no such forecasting is made. The most convincing evidence of this is provided by the legislation on cooperatives, which has come in for several adjustments and yet the penalties for criminal liability involving its violation remain undetermined.

The replacement of relations involving distribution by command with market-based relations will give rise to new peculiarities in the traffic of commodities, money, shares, securities, and so on. There is more and more talk of a commodities, and stock exchange, and so on. Consequently, it must be ensured that brokerage, usury, and all sorts of rentier-dealing and stock exchange speculation do not become consolidated in the healthy tissue

of new economic relations. What is needed is comprehensive forecasting and expert study of the institutions of civil and criminal legal liability. At the same time, as we refine economic law, there is probably some sense in analyzing foreign legal experience.

The third proposal—in all there are five: With the aim of setting up an effective mechanism to combat corruption, above all in the top echelons of power in the law enforcement bodies, ministries, and official departments, to set up a special commission of deputies to combat corruption. It should have wide powers, including the right to demand any information regarding the income of any individual, whatever post he might occupy.

You will recall that on 12 December, when the congress agenda was being discussed, Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov alone linked the issue of combatting organized crime with the need to draw up specific measures to combat crime. Right here—on this platform. I believe this proposal must not be forgotten.

Finally, it is esential to carry out serious changes in the organization and functions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on a unionwide scale.

Given the main fundamental policy of boosting the status and sovereignty of the union and autonomous republics and their independence, it would seem sensible in relations betwen the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the ministries and directorates of internal affairs to make use of three categories of subordination. I am speaking in very simplified terms. First, the local militia—the so-called municipal—which in its operations is subordinate only to the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs or the oblast administration of internal affairs. These would include the services safeguarding public order, crime prevention, traffic, and the local beat officers. All staffing and financial issues would be resolved locally, rather than in Moscow, as is now the case.

Second, the central militia, the management of which would retain the current principle of dual subordination. It would include the operational inquiries services and also investigations.

And finally, the third type of subdivision—a totally new one which must be created. These are special operational-investigation, combined, interdepartmental, and interregional subdivisions to combat organized crime, drugs, terrorism, and international links between criminals.

They are subordinate only and exclusively to the central administration.

In consideration of the transfer of rights to the republics with regard to the formation of a local militia, they must bear full responsibility for order on their territory.

At present the whole question is with the USSR MVD. Between 70% and 80% of the time its central apparatus is engaged not in organizing the fight against crime but in the unsuccessful settlement of interethnic conflicts.

With the formation of the MVD of the Russian Federation—this is a very important political step—and the proposed new structure, the opportunity is being presented to concentrate the efforts of the apparatus of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Union upon the primary and central task: the fight against organized crime and major criminal organizations and the active preparation for the implementation of the idea of an all-European home. It has to be borne in mind that the explosive nature of the way in which international links and human contacts are being expanded will in the very near future place the whole of the country's law enforcement system in a completely new situation.

I am not even speaking about the need for a part of our operations and investigative system to be integrated into Interpol. In formal terms this is something for the very near future. Our delegation is now holding talks on this question. In essence, the rich and various tools of international cooperation in the fight against crime must be studied and mastered and we must create for ourselves the reputation of being a good partner.

Within our country we need a precise mechanism for monitoring the incomes of citizens, which under the conditions of the development of commodity relationships would ensure a reliable barrier in the way of excessively high incomes concentrated among the businessmen of the shadow economy and the leaders of organized crime. The USSR MVD therefore supports the proposal of the Ministry of Finance that a single state taxation service should be set up and that financial control in the country should be reorganized. It is also important that a financially autonomous service be established for carrying out audits and expert economic, technological, and bookkeeping examinations. Today this is a stumbling block which all manner of investigative actions are hitting.

The practice of combatting organized crime also demands serious scientific provision. The MVD also has an interest in implementing the proposal of a number of scientists that there should be a change from cooperation in various scientific areas to the integration of sciences and research and the establishment of an independent area of economic criminology.

The need to establish the conditions for an all-round influence upon an improvement in morality also requires a conscientious approach. In this connection, the stance of the mass information media and the creative intelligentsia acquires a special significance.

The responsible and constructive position of the journalist, the scientist, the writer, and the artist is capable of consolidating the healthy forces, and today this is task number one. The USSR MVD will continue to cooperate in the spirit of openness and glasnost with the mass media and with cultural establishments on this very important question.

And so organized crime based upon a symbiosis of the crime-generating stratum of the shadow economy and corruption does exist in the country. Furthermore, during the period of transition, under conditions where disproportionate development is taking place, it grows and begins to present a real danger for society and for perestroyka.

The forms and the methods and the tactics of the system of the law enforcement bodies for combatting it are only beginning to be put right. Measures are being taken, but this work has to be stepped up and deep scientific research also has to be organized into the socioeconomic, the social, and the legal aspects of this problem.

The complexity and the multifaceted nature of the fight against organized crime are obvious. They go far beyond the bounds of the competence not just of the MVD, but that of the entire law-enforcement system. This is a problem for the whole state which requires the mobilization of all healthy forces in society.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Kerimov on Constitutional Oversight

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[Speech by D.A. Kerimov, department head at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Editorial Commission To Finalize the Draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR, at the 21 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: "On the Draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR"]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies!

You are asked to consider the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR. As is known, the Constitution is the foundation on which the entire edifice of existing legislation rests. Its nonobservance results in the destruction of the legal system, a susbtantial weakening of the rule of law and law and order, and an increased anarchic element in social development. Hence, the great importance of constitutional oversight, which is meant to ensure that all other normative and legal acts dovetail with the Constitution.

Formerly it was assumed that it was enough to formulate good, fair, and virtuous general rules and all members of society would happily and enthusiastically follow them. But life shattered these illusions. In fact, about 30 years ago all civilized countries of the world had to set up special constitutional oversight, monitoring, or arbitration bodies. We came to the same conclusion, albeit belatedly. A special state organ has now been given the job of ensuring that all normative and legal acts issued in the country accord with the Constitution. Unfortunately, we have not had such an organ before at any time in the existence of Soviet power. The only exception is the general prosecutor's oversight of the legality of a limited number of acts. This largely explains the dismal fact that our constitution's enactments have often been not only smartly sidestepped and simply not observed, but even crudely and unceremoniously violated. Constitutional principles and norms have been arbitrarily altered and distorted and have ultimately disappeared under a welter of legal directives by the government and numerous orders and instructions from ministries and departments. The basic law became a fiction, performing the hypocritical role of a democratic facade designed to conceal from the onlooker the lawlessness and tyranny of the the era of the personality cult, voluntarism, and stagnation.

Alas, violations of the USSR Constitution, and also of the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, are still taking place. But let us take a serious and considered look at the consequences of violation of the Constitution: If it is permissible to disregard fundamental constitutional enactments, then it is all the more permissible to flout norms of current legislation issued on the basis of them and in implementation of them. This inevitably results in the total disintegration of the stability of economic and social life, rampant egoism, human beings left unprotected, personal tragedies, family disasters, and so forth.

Recently certain people have been trying to justify nonobservance of constitutional demands by saying that they do not meet today's needs and the tasks of perestroyka, democratization of society, and renewal of the federation. This argument is flimsy primarily because no one has the right, apart from the supreme representative organs of state power, to alter, amplify, or revoke constitutional norms. There is no doubt that many provisions of the USSR Constitution are indeed obsolete and are inhibiting perestroyka processes and the democratization of all public and state life. But it is equally obvious that their renewal is the exclusive prerogative of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which is intended to express the common will of the entire Soviet people. Therefore, to ignore this rule is, apart from anything else, to show disrespect for the national forum, in the shape of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Until the Constitution is improved and renewed it will continue to operate, and everyone is obliged to observe it unswervingly. This is reason, prudence, and world experience talking.

It does not follow from this, of course, that no amendments to individual norms that need to be immediately clarified or even repealed for objective reasons are possible until a new Constitution is adopted. Any other treatment of these norms would be undialectical and would stifle our aspirations for the renewal of socialism. When necessary we alter, clarify, and amplify individual constitutional provisions. But this can only be done through the Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies.

As is known, the Constitutional Commission formed by the first Congress of People's Deputies has embarked on its work. The general contours of the constitutional

prospectus have been drawn and a working group is being set up which will be able to present to the Congress of People's Deputies in the very near future a draft new Constitution for our society and state.

I mention this merely to describe the point of departure of the commission you have formed to prepare the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR. We proceeded on the basis of the instructions of the first Congress of People's Deputies and based ourselves on the USSR Constitution, with the amendments and additions of 1 December 1988.

I could easily object and say that there is no need to adopt a Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR until the new Constitution is adopted. It would be the ideal option, but the circumstances are such that we cannot halt our lawmaking activity until a new Constitution is adopted and we are compelled to make the requisite amendments and additions "on the move," so to speak. The aforementioned obections are unacceptable also for the following reasons. First, despite the fact that a number of provisions of the existing USSR Constitution and constitutions of the union and autonomous republics are obsolete, there are, of course, many democratic norms in them, whose implementation must be monitored. Incidentally, allow me to remind you that in the 1977 Constitution Article 76 introduced the formula that the "union republic is a sovereign Soviet socialist state." Previous constitutions only mentioned the sovereign rights of the union republic.

I hope that the aforementioned article 76 of the 1977 Constitution is not obsolete and should therefore be protected through constitutional oversight. Is that not so, esteemed opponent? As for the obsolete constitutional provisions that contradict the demands of perestroyka, they can be altered or repealed altogether, in the proper way, on the initiative of the organs of constitutional oversight.

Second, in our rapidly changing times we are adopting, indeed are bound to adopt a multitude of laws at a constitutional level. Well-known amendments and additions have already been made to all-union and republic constitutions. In early 1990 it is planned to bring in laws on ownership, on land, on the socialist enterprise, the tax system, on the general principles of local self-management and the local economy, and others. These laws will contain fundamental, key provisions that will be incorporated in the new Constitution.

Can we, one wonders, put this entire range of constitutional enactments down on paper without bothering to implement them? Or are we going to allow, as in the past, the creation of a dead legislative plan without filling it with effective, live substance, without implementing it? To prevent this from happening, it is necessary to immediately create a mechanism ensuring strict, uniform, and consistent implementation of legislative acts. One basic element of this mechanism is the institution of constitutional oversight.

Finally, third, if we actually intend to form a rule-of-law state, we must state that its primary and immediate duty is not only to make laws, but also to supervise their observance and implementation by all those involved in legal relations. Without this oversight there is no socialist rule-of-law state.

The aforesaid makes it possible to assert the need to adopt right now a law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR and form the relevant constitutional oversight organs.

The introduction of constitutional oversight in our country, as has been noted, is envisaged by Article 125 of the Constitution. It was in accordance with this article that the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR was elaborated. Work on it was far more complex than we originally assumed. It developed over 4 months of extremely hard work. A highly skilled collective of writers was formed and it collaborated with the commission all the time. The commission members made comments on each version of the draft law. All its fundamental provisions were carefully discussed at commission sessions. Representatives of the science of state and constitutional law were brought in as experts. They studied the theory and practice of constitutional oversight, monitoring, and constitutional jurisdiction in the socialist and capital countries. There were detailed conversations with foreign specialists. All this was warranted, not least because the Draft Law on Constitutional Oversight was being created for the first time in the practice of lawmaking.

Originally the draft law was prepared fully in accordance with the existing Article 125 of the Constitution. But during its elaboration the need arose to make certain amendments to the article, which do not affect the essential point, but merely clarify, develop, and concretize it. In our view, this more accurately and more fully reflects the tasks of protecting the Soviet constitutional system and takes into account the proposals put forward at the first Congress of People's Deputies and in periodicals. Therefore, you also have before you, for your consideration, the draft of a new version of Article 125 of the USSR Constitution.

You have the text of the proposed version of this article and the actual draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR and other materials. Therefore, allow me to confine my comments to some of the most important provisions of the documents and to inform you of certain discussion points which arose during our work.

First, the name of the actual draft law and the organs envisaged by it: On Constitutional Oversight in the USSR or the Committee of USSR Constitutional Oversight? We chose the first name not only because Article 125 of the Constitution actually talks about constitutional oversight in the USSR, but also because we were seeking to shape the common, basic principles of constitutional oversight on the scale of the entire Soviet Union. And it is sufficient to familiarize oneself with

these principles to see that in no way do they infringe the sovereign rights of the union republics.

As you will recall, at the first sitting of this congress, people's deputies from the Communist Youth League [Komsomol] proposed having the name constitutional council instead of Constitutional Oversight Committee. At first glance the name appeared preferable, but it is hardly worth making the substitution, at least at the moment, while we are encountering a multitude of violations of the Constitution and constitutional laws. In these conditions what we need is oversight of observance of these laws and other normative acts. Moreover, a constitutional council is essentially a constitutional court with all the resultant juridical and, in particular, procedural consequences. It is entirely possible, however, that in time, having accumulated the relevant experience, we will turn the Constitutional Oversight Committee into a constitutional council or constitutional court.

Now, the draft new version of Article 125 of the Constitution. It is proposed, in particular, that the powers of the Constitutional Oversight Committee be augmented in order to produce findings on whether not only draft laws, as envisaged by the article in question, but already adopted laws and other normative legal acts and also decisions by public, including, of course, party, organizations accord with the Constitution. This amplification by no means signifies that the committee is going over the head of the country's supreme legislative organ, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, because not only is it not revoking and not suspending acts of congress, but it is leaving congress to make the final decision.

Another addition is connected with the fact that it is proposed to include the international treaty and other obligations of the USSR and the union republics submitted for ratification or approval, in addition to those indicated in the existing text of this article, as an object of oversight by the committee. This is an important addition, taking into account the significance of international acts for the development of internal Soviet legislation under modern conditions.

At the same time the sphere of the committee's oversight of republic legal acts is being restricted. Under the existing Article 125 of the Constitution the committee monitors the conformity of all acts of the union republics' supreme organs of state power and management with the Constitution and laws of the USSR. But we propose monitoring only the conformity of the union republics' constitutions and laws alone with the USSR Constitution, as well as their conformity with all-union laws. Instructions concerning the committee's oversight of the conformity of acts of union republic councils of ministers with the USSR Constitution and laws are ruled out. Oversight of these and all other republic acts falls within the competence of the appropriate union republic organs. It should be particularly emphasized that the adoption of a conclusion of the Constitutional Oversight Committee does not entail either the repeal or the suspension of a union republic constitution. These substantial restrictions on the prerogatives of the Constitutional Oversight Committee are occasioned by modern demands to improve the Soviet federation and extend the union republics' sovereign rights, as well as by the need to clearly delimit competence between union and republic organs of constitutional oversight.

I must comment in this connection that the significant narrowing of the committee's powers with regard to union republics' legal acts asserted by individual people's deputies (including individual members of our commission) is inadequate. Proceeding from the theoretical premise of the expediency of going over from a federation to a confederation in the Soviet Union's state system, they advance a special opinion, according to which the all-union committee must not oversee any union republic acts. The commission disagreed with that opinion not only because such lack of oversight does not exist in a single country in the world with a federative state system, but also because it proceeded from the fact that a socialist federation exists in our country. Nevertheless, respecting the opinion of a minority of our commission, I ask the congress chairman to let a representative of this minority speak first of all after the report.

It is enshrined in the existing USSR Constitution that the USSR in the person of its supreme organs of state power is responsible for ensuring the unity of legislative regulation throughout USSR territory; establishing the fundamentals of USSR and union republic legislation; monitoring compliance with the USSR Constitution; and ensuring the union republic constitutions' conformity with the USSR Constitution, that USSR laws have identical force on the territory of all the union republics, and that, if a union republic law is at variance with an all-union law, the USSR law applies (Articles 73 and 74 of the USSR Constitution). The corresponding provisions of the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight have been formulated in full accordance with these constitutional enactments. If we assume that these not only juridical but also, primarily, political principles of socialist federalism will be changed in the new union constitution, then this will be followed by a corresponding correction to the Law on Constitutional Oversight too. Therefore, criticism of our draft law in this area is groundless or, at least, premature.

The new version of Article 125 of the Constitution also considerably extends the range of organs, organizations, and persons on whose initiative the committee submits its findings concerning acts of other state organs and social organizations. This basically means all those who, under Article 114 of the USSR Constitution, have the right of legislative initiative at the Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The right to submit questions to the committee is granted, in particular, to a number (not less than one-fifth) of people's deputies or members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is a real guarantee of the rights of the minority on a representative body and

offers additional opportunities for verifying the constitutionality of the relevant acts. This, in our view, is one component in the further democratization of the state structure.

As for the committee's own initiative, this is confined to the verification of the constitutionality of acts of the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR and other organs formed or elected by the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. This will make it possible to ensure more purposeful organization of the committee's work. Let us observe that here, too—that is, on its own initiative—the committee cannot submit findings on the conformity of the constitutions of the union republics with the USSR Constitution and all-union laws.

In the course of discussion of the draft law, the idea was put forward that it is not expedient for the committee to examine the constitutionality of any acts whatever on its own initiative. The argument for this view was that otherwise there will be a considerable increase in the committee's volume of work, the possibility will arise of various political forces putting pressure on it, and the committee's responsibility for the rule of law in the country will increase considerably. These misgivings are not without rational grounds, but nonetheless they must be disregarded for the simple reason that what is being established is, I repeat, not a constitutional court, but constitutional oversight. Therefore, the committee's activity cannot be restricted solely to instances where interested parties appeal to it. In that case there would in effect be no oversight on the part of the committee itself.

Article 125 of the Constitution, in the new version, has the additional provision that a finding of the committee can be set aside only by a decision of the Congress adopted by the votes of two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies; this is derived from Article 174 of the country's Fundamental Law, which establishes the said majority for changes to constitutional norms.

The above and certain other provisions of the new version of Article 125 of the Constitution are reflected, developed, and given concrete form in the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR, which I would now like to turn to directly. It can be divided into two main sections. The first is devoted to the general principles of constitutional oversight in the USSR. Here it is noted first and foremost that constitutional oversight in our country is instituted with a view to ensuring the conformity of acts of state organs and social organizations with the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics and protecting the democratic foundations of Soviet society, the rights of the USSR peoples, and the rights and freedoms of the individual.

The organs of constitutional oversight are then defined. With regard to the Soviet Union as a whole, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is that organ. As for the titles of the analogous republican organs, they are to be decided by the union and autonomous republics themselves. This presupposes the autonomy of the constitutional oversight organs of the union and autonomous republics; they are independent, and their activity is not under the control of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

The basic principles of the activity of constitutional oversight organs are also formulated, and legislation on constitutional oversight is noted.

The second, considerably longer section of the draft law is wholly devoted to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. Its members are elected by the Congress of People's Deputies from among specialists in the sphere of politics and law to consist of a chairman, a deputy chairman, and 21 committee members, including one from each of the union republics. It goes without saying that the committee members from the union republics are proposed by the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman by agreement with the union republics themselves. That is our tradition.

It should be noted that the formation of the committee by means of elections is the most democratic method. As you know, in capitalist countries the members of the equivalent organs are usually not elected but appointed. Thus, in Austria the federal president appoints all the members of the constitutional court on the proposal of the Federal Government, the National Council, and the Federal Council. The members of Italy's constitutional court are appointed by the highest magistracies of the general and administrative courts, the parliament, and the president of the republic (five members each). The members of the French constitutional council are appointed by the president of the republic and the chairmen of the chambers of parliament (three members each). In addition, the council includes all the former presidents of France, who, however, as far as I know, do not usually participate in its work.

In connection with the election of members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, three important points must be noted.

First, the committee members are not representatives of the union republics, but are elected from among the people living in the various republics. In this way all the union republics are covered, and at the same time the committee members' independence of particular regions of the country is ensured.

Second, the committee members' term of office is set at 10 years. However, with a view to ensuring smooth running and continuity in the committee's work, it is proposed that half the membership be renewed every 5 years. This will be achieved as follows: The term of office for 11 members of the committee on the first occasion only, chosen by lot, will expire in 5 years. In subsequent elections every committee member will be elected for a 10-year term. This system is widely used in world practice. It is to be introduced in our country too, only not in the draft law itself, but in a Congress of People's

Deputies resolution on the procedure for bringing into force the Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR.

Third, of the 23 committee members, 15—that is, not a simple majority, but an augmented majority—are from the union republics. This quantitative factor itself rules out the possibility of infringement of the sovereign rights of the union republics.

As for the other eight committee members, they are not by any means "representatives of the center," as it may appear to some people, but specialists in various spheres of politics and areas of the law, without whom it would be extremely difficult to draw up authoritative, professionally argued committee findings.

In this connection one cannot, in my view, agree with the insistent demands of some people's deputies for contested elections of the committee members. On the surface this demand looks very democratic, but it is hardly useful to the work of the committee itself. And this is why. First of all, it is contrary to the requirements of the constitutional rule that was adopted only 1 year and 20 days ago. Under that rule the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman proposes candidate committee members; if the Congress does not vote for a proposed candidate, the Supreme Soviet chairman puts forward another candidate. But that is not all; the point is also that with contested elections it could transpire that a candidate from one or even several republics is not elected, and then the republics' equality will be violated. A similar situation could arise with elections of specialists: Instead of electing representatives of various spheres of politics and areas of law, we could end up with a committee consisting of people with one and the same speciality, which would have an adverse effect on the competence and all-around validity of the findings they put forward.

So is it not the best thing, in this instance, for us to act in accordance with the Constitution, with the amendments made to it in 1988?

The draft law incorporates a new norm: The Supreme Soviet chairman swears in the persons elected to the Constitutional Oversight Committee. The text of the oath could be incorporated in the draft law, with approximately the following content: "I solemnly swear conscientiously to fulfill the duties invested in me as a member of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and to adhere to all the provisions of the USSR Constitution and only to them." This ritual enhances the prestige and responsibility of the committee members. Some people's deputies propose that the committee members take the oath before the Congress of People's Deputies. This would probably be expedient, but would not this procedure take up a lot of time for the Congress, which is already overburdened? Might it be a good idea to take the oath before the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium? It is also envisaged that the term of office of a person elected to the committee could be terminated early at his own request to retire; if his state of health prevents him from carrying out his duties; in the event of violation of the oath; or if a court conviction against him comes into force legally. In these cases, someone else is elected for the remaining term of office, but they must be from the republic from which the outgoing committee member was elected.

In the course of defining the range of legal acts coming under the committee's oversight, the question of demarcation between the committee and the general oversight functions of the prosecutor's office arose. This question was discussed in detail with the leadership and staffers of the prosecutor's office, with a view to ruling out unnecessary duplication. At present the prosecutor's office is restructuring its work, in particular with a view to increasing the effectiveness of general oversight, which applies, under constitutional legislation, only to acts of organs of state administration, with the exception of acts of the Council of Ministers. The prosecutor's office also does not have the right of oversight of acts of the highest organs of state power or local organs of state power.

These "gaps," if I can put it that way, in the general oversight of the prosecutor's office are now filled by the Constitutional Oversight Committee, which in turn is not responsible for oversight of acts whose legality is monitored by the prosecutor's office. We were in full agreement with the prosecutor's office on this demarcation of competence between these organs.

In light of the above, the view that the committee should be responsible for oversight only of USSR laws and conflicts between all-union and republican legislation is unacceptable for the simple reason that in that case there would be no oversight at all to cover, for instance, acts of social organizations, including party organizations, decisions of local soviets of people's deputies, and resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers, which, as experience shows, most frequently violate or arbitrarily distort the Constitution and laws of the USSR. The draft law also stipulates that the committee's oversigh' functions do not extend to specific decisions of the courts and other organs, since that function is exercised by the system of judicial and other law enforcement organs.

I would also like to draw your attention to another extremely important point. The draft law has a special article on the committee's examination of disagreements between the USSR and the republics, between union republics, or between union republics and national state and national territorial formations regarding the constitutionality of acts adopted by their organs of state power and administration. A procedure for examining disputes of this kind is laid down, approximating in its nature to the activity of a constitutional court.

I think, however, that this article of the draft law should be clarified. The examination of disputes between union republics and national state and national territorial formations that form part of them should be entrusted to

the constitutional oversight organs of the union republics, and they could appeal to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee only on a consultative basis.

In connection with this article of the draft law, it should be noted that the committee, in resolving such disputes, can only determine the legal aspect of the matter, not the political aspect. We therefore suggest that in drafting the new USSR Constitution it will be necessary to define and regulate thoroughly and in detail the mechanism for examining the said disagreements, without in any circumstances violating the principles of the Soviet federation.

And another consideration in connection with this same article. Many of our opponents have formed a one-sided impression that the entire thrust of the draft law is only to protect the interests of the union, and that there is some infringement of the interests of the republics. Hence the negative attitude of some comrades to the draft law. But if you study the text carefully, it is not difficult to see that this impression is erroneous. Of course, the draft law protects the interests of the federation as a whole, but it is also aimed at the just resolution of possible disputes between the USSR and the union republics, which are not necessarily to be resolved only in favor of the so-called center. Constitutional oversight, being independent, is called upon to arbitrate between the USSR and the union republics, and should protect only those who act on the basis of their constitutional rights.

A characteristic feature of the draft law is another democratic principle. Unlike the analogous organs in capitalist countries, whose decisions usually revoke unconstitutional acts, a finding of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee not only does not revoke, but does not, as I have noted, even suspend the operation of the constitutions of union repbulics and USSR laws and other acts adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies that are at variance with the USSR Constitution. The operation of all other acts under the committee's oversight is suspended in the event that they are at variance with the Constitution and laws of the USSR, until such time as the conflict indicated in the findings has been eliminated. The organ that issued the act must within 3 months eliminate the conflict between the act or its individual provisions and the USSR Constitution or all-union law. That is, after that period if the conflict has not been eliminated the committee makes a submission to the Congress of People's Deputies, USSR Supreme Soviet, or USSR Council of Ministers, as the case may be, for the revocation of the act of the organ or official under their jurisdiction that is at variance with the Constitution or law of the USSR. In the event of the rejection of the committee's findings by the Supreme Soviet, the question is examined by the Congress, whose decision is final. If the proposal to reject the committee's findings does not receive the necessary number of votes at the Congress (two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies), the act or its individual provisions that are at variance with the Constitution or law of the USSR are deemed to have lapsed, with the exception, as already stated, of the constitutions of union republics.

The draft law regulates in detail the procedure for the submission, preparation, and examination of questions on the committee. It also records the status of persons elected to the committee and guarantees of their independence and inviolability. In this connection some people's deputies think that committee members should be subordinate not to the USSR Constitution, but to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. But then the principle of the separation of powers would be jeopardized. Committee members are independent of all organs of power, and should be subordinate only and exclusively to the USSR Constitution; only on these terms can they successfully exercise their functions. If they are subordinate to any organ of power, even the highest, then the actual oversight slips from the committee's hands into the hands of that organ of power.

In conclusion, the draft law formulates provisions on the committee's standing orders and Secretariat and other questions of its organization and activity.

It only remains for me to add that the new version of Article 125 of the USSR Constitution and the draft law on constitutional oversight in the USSR were discussed in detail on 10 November this year at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which generally approved them and proposed that they be submitted to the Second Congress of People's Deputies for examination.

At the last moment we received certain observations on the draft law from a number of people's deputies, in writing. You may be sure that these observations, like all those that emerge in the course of discussion of the draft law, will be carefully studied and taken into account in the finalization of the draft law, because it is only by collective efforts that we can create such an important and complex constitutional act.

The adoption of the Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR by the Second Congress of People's Deputies will undoubtedly play a huge role in the formation of the socialist rule-of-law state, the improvement of Soviet legislation, and the strengthening of the rule of law and the regime of law and order in the country. Favorable prerequisites will thus be created for the acceleration of the process of perestroyka and the renewal of our society on truly socialist principles. Therefore, after discussion and in the light of the discussion, I call upon you to adopt this law.

General Varennikov

LD2312181189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Speech by Army General Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov, commander-in-chief of USSR Ground Forces at the

22 December session of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Kremlin Palace of Congresses—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Chairman, Esteemed Comrade People's Deputies: I will dwell on the problems of the struggle against crime and of strengthening military discipline in the army. The First Congress of People's Deputies came out clearly for the further qualitative development of the Soviet Army in accordance with the existing principles of its formation. We are firmly implementing this directive. The leading place in this is occupied by measures to achieve a new level in training and educating the personnel, in the harmonious development of troops, in decisively strengthening law and order, in affirming the personality of each serviceman.

The reforms in the Army are already in full swing. Radical transformations are quite evident and we constantly inform the people about how the measures being carried out are progressing. The Defense Council is overseeing this. On 18 October there was a meeting of the Main Military Council on this question and it approved the course of perestroyka in the armed forces. Comrades, today, giving an assessment of the situation with regard to discipline in the Army, we take as our reference point the year 1985 as the year in which the increase in violations of the law reached its peak. I can report to the congress that at the present time much is changing in sociopolitical life in the Army. Democratization is increasingly penetrating the life of our collectives. Such public institutions as officers' meetings, commissions, and representatives of troop units on various matters of troop activities have been revived and are gathering strength. Comrades, we are undertaking all sorts of measures in order to improve order among the troops, and for this purpose the institution of assistants to unit commanders for legal work also has been established.

Comrades, we bear full responsibility for the state of affairs in our Army. Of course, we are pleased when these questions are taken up by the republics and the oblasts. In particular, the military districts have looked favorably upon visits from various delegations and groups from the republics and oblasts. For example, troops in Siberia, the Far East, in the Western Group of Forces, in the Belorussian, Carpathian, and other districts are grateful to the Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Latvian, Kazakh, Uzbek, and other comrades who have visited their charges. All were convinced that this should be continued in the future, too.

We have had positive changes in the past 5 years. There has been an improvement in the dynamics and structure of law violations among us in the sense that these indices have been reduced. At the same time, I am obliged to report that because of a sharp upsurge in evasion of military service it has not been possible to achieve an overall reduction in crime this year compared with last. The reasons for the unfavorable situation with regard to discipline as a whole we take upon ourselves in the first instance, but comrades, the Army is the mirror of the whole society, and no matter how hard the military tries, without the energetic participation of all the people they are not capable of resolving all the problems of the struggle against crime by themselves.

We are grateful to Comrade Gorbunov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia, for the fundamental conclusions made here that the defense of the country is a task for the whole state, that the Army and the people are united. However, I am obliged to call your attention to a whole range of processes taking place among young people. First, in the spring 13 percent of those called up had criminal records. One in every ten had been taken in by the militia for acts of hooliganism. Year by year we are receiving conscripts with lower general education. Physical development and state of health have deteriorated. The level of initial military training has fallen. How can they have any level at all if there are some leaders who have totally destroyed this training? An example of this is the Lithuanian minister of education. By his Order No 150 of 13 July this year, he totally abolished initial military training in the republic. And Esteemed Deputy Landsbergis at a meeting in Moscow with Comrade Yazov, minister of defense, stated directly, and I quote: The Soviet Army is not regarded among us as our own army, even though among those serving in the Baltic Military District are young men of all nationalities, including Lithuanians. One can only ask: Whose Army is this, then?

Comrades, the struggle against crime—and on this I fully agree with the opinion expressed here by Comrade Setkin—of course cannot be viewed divorced from all phenomena in society. And first we must eliminate the roots of crime. In this connection I put forward four proposals.

First, to adopt a decision ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of existing legislation in all areas, including on matters of military construction. In those places where violations have been committed, the Constitutional Supervision Commission should restore legality. In some Union republics extremist organizations are pursuing a policy of torpedoing the law on universal liability to military service. Why? Because the Army stands in the way of these forces and hinders them from achieving their planned aims. They make use of various means, from declaring the Soviet Army to be an army of occupation and declaring a boycott against being called up into its ranks, to crudely distorting the various problems which exist in our army and using these for their own interests in order to whip up anti-army moods. No state in the world permits such discrimination against its Army. But, comrades, even in these conditions we teach and will continue to teach our servicemen to love their homeland and to defend it reliably and not to flounce about, squandering, as even our deputies can calmly do on trips, for example, to the United States or Japan.

Second, to speed up the adoption of new legislative bases for settling questions on defense and in the first instance a law on the defense of the USSR and a new law on universal liability to military service. [bell sounds]

Third, to give an assessment of the phenomena taking place in the country. The revolutionary processes are transforming our country for the better. We are grateful to the party for their initiative and leadership in these processes. We are grateful to the healthy forces which are making the necessary contribution to the construction of a new life. However, crime is growing in the country and this is dangerous. But when certain forces, making use of glasnost and democracy and hiding behind slogans of perestroyka are making bids for power and rocking our state—our Union of Soviet Republics—this is even more dangerous. We oppose bureaucratism and dogmatists. But one should not come out against measures and bodies which are called upon to ensure order and the fulfillment of the law. The slogans of the interregional group urge our people toward anarchy. I am sure that the people will not allow our country to be brought to chaos. On the contrary, it should demand of us that we bring in order.

And, finally, we, of course, favor order in our country. We favor a better atmosphere of mutual good relations. We should not tolerate insults and various sorts of attacks on each other. And, of course, in this connection—I could pass over this but I am forced to say that yesterday's tirade about the young general is, of course, out of place. [bell sounds]

I am just finishing. Respectable people should not do this. I would like to say that General Surkov was one of the first people to go to the aid of the Armenian people when the earthquake struck. The Armenian people elected the Russian general to be their peoples deputy and they, of course, know his worth. But the slanderous attacks which took place are not good. One should take one's hat off to him.

Comrades, I report to you that the Military Council of Ground Forces is undertaking all measures to ensure that the level of training is sufficiently high and ensures the fulfillment of the tasks set by our people.

Metropolitan Ridiger on Unrest in Ukraine

LD2312205189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Remarks by Metropolitan Aleksey Ridiger at the 22 December session of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lukyanov] The floor is given to deputy Aleksey Ridiger, metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod. [Ridiger] [Passage omitted] In my speech I cannot avoid touching on an issue that of late has become one of great sadness for believers of the Russian Orthodox Church and the whole of Orthodoxy. Many of the deputies present here already know of the tragic events that are occurring in several oblasts of the western Ukraine. I am speaking here of flagrant acts of lawlessness which are being perpetrated by people who call themselves adherents to the Ukrainian Catholic Church against Orthodox Soviet citizens. Back in 1620 a Volyn deputy in the Polish Sejm reported that in the large cities the churches have been closed; there are no monks in the monasteries and livestock are penned up there; in Lvov, anyone who does not belong to the Uniate cannot live, trade, or be accepted into craft workshops in the city. In Vilna, whenever the body of an Orthodox believer is buried, it has to be carried through the gate which is only used for the town's refuse. Orthodox monks are beaten and thrown into prison. Worthy and learned people are not elevated to high rank in the city simply because they are not Uniates.

Unfortunately history is repeating itself today, bitter though it is to realize it. And I, as a people's deputy, more than 300 years on, have to report to you facts which, in their cruelty, are on a par with the crimes of those medieval times. No matter how preposterous it sounds, at present in Lvov, Ternopol, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, dozens of Orthodox churches are seized by force. Orthodox priests are being ousted from where they work, while rank-and-file believers, threatened with violence, turn toward the Uniate Church. I can read out dozens of telegrams received recently, during our congress, from church dignitaries, believers, and priests of western oblasts of the Ukraine.

It is with particular grief that I have to report that as a result of the moral and physical harm done to him during the seizure of Orthodox churches, Josif Stedniy, priest of the Transfiguration Church of Lvov, is in hospital in a grave condition, while Vasiliy Buchilo, priest of an Orthodox Church in Zolochevskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast, has died.

The situation, exacerbated to the limit, can at any minute, any hour, have the same tragic outcome in other places, too.

It is symptomatic; nor can one fail to notice something else: These arbitrary actions are organized and executed by people whom one would have great doubts calling believers. I have here in mind the representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Christian Democratic Union, the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, and others—it is these representatives who are in the forefront of these illegal actions.

Something else is symptomatic, too: The rallies and demonstrations held in defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are accompanied by slogans that have nothing to do with religion, slogans that provoke nationalist sentiments and interethnic enmity. One gets the impression that someone is very keen to make use of the complex religious situation in order to fan tension in the sphere of relations between nationalities, and for realizing their own political ambitions.

It is from this high rostrum that I appeal to those in charge of law and order protection bodies, to the government of the Ukrainian republic, to Soviet leaders in Lvov, Ternopol, and Ivano-Frankovsk oblasts, to take measures without delay to halt the violations of the law, and to halt the tragic development of the situation which is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

I earnestly request the Congress of People's Deputies to support my appeal, since this is the only way that makes it possible to create conditions to get out of this most complex situation, arbitrariness, and lawlessness in the religious question in the western oblasts of the Ukraine. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Lithuania's Mateka

LD2312000189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1431 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Speech by Lithuanian Deputy Kazimir Vladislavovich Moteka at the 22 December session of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Congress, on the subject of constitutional supervision in the USSR and the setting up of a Constitutional Supervision Committee of the USSR, I shall read out a statement from the Baltic parliamentary group.

We USSR peoples deputies of the Baltic parliamentary group consider it our duty once again to set out our attitude to the proposed Constitutional Supervision Committee of the USSR and, correspondingly, to the proposed Law on Constitutional Supervision in the USSR. Both the law and the committee touch upon considerable sovereign rights of the republics, and make it possible for institutions located outside the republics to rescind their laws, including articles of the basic law of any republic. We are not empowered to make such a renunciation of the state sovereignty of republics just as the deputies of other republics do not have the right to take it away. We are convinced that the adoption of decisions on the law and the committee is possible with the observation of the principle of consensus. However, no mechanism for such a discussion of questions and the adoption of decisions has yet been worked out.

The draft law on Constitutional Supervision has not even been read, let alone discussed by the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, which demonstrates the artificial haste with which it is being pushed through. In the present situation of the radical renewal of the union legislation, and when union-level constitutional reforms are lagging behind the constitutional reforms in the republics, constitutional supervision would serve anti-perestroyka, reactionary aims. It could be used, while there is no integral constitution of the USSR of the times of perestroyka, against any republic and against the adoption in any of them of econmic laws and decisions.

We also call in the attention of the congress to the fact that the inclusion of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the USSR has no international legal basis and, by virtue of this, constitutional supervision and the demands for the USSR laws to take precedence in those republics run counter to the principles of the self-determination of the peoples of those republics.

On the basis of the arguments set out above, we propose that the congress stop discussing the draft law and postpone the election of the committee for the future when the constitutional, legal conditions are ripe for this.

At the present time we shall neither discuss these questions nor take part in the voting. In this way, we assert the invalidity of any possible decision of the congress, which is not based on consensus, on the subject of the above-mentioned law and committee. [end of statement from Baltic parliamentary group]

The whole course of the sociopolitical development of the USSR at the present stage—this is now my address [as opposed to the statement by the Baltic Group]—indicates that it is on the threshold of great changes but cannot make up its mind to step across this threshold. This step is prevented not so much by objective reasons but, to a greater extent, by subjective reasons. The constitutional supervision being proposed to us threatens to become one such subjective reason. It will deprive the union republics of their last remnants of legislative autonomy and will remove the right of the peoples of the republics to participate in the sort of economic, social, cultural, and political development in which all human rights and basic freedoms, the rights of the people to self-determination and full sovereignty, can be fully implemented.

In connection with this, attention should be paid to the fact that the above-mentioned rights of the peoples are firmly laid down in Article One of the Declaration of the Right to Development, and the USSR voted to affirm these rights for the peoples. This provision is laid down in Resolution 41/128 of the UN General Assembly of 4 December 1986. By this the USSR recognized before the whole world the right to development of every people in the world. Therefore, it is not within its competence to decide what laws, and in what republic, the peoples are obliged to adopt and or not to adopt. No policemen are needed to supervise this.

Moreover, Lithuania, as one of the Baltic states, was forcibly incorporated into the USSR in 1940 after the ultimatum and the Soviet military incursion. Lithuanian people just like us, their representatives here at the second congress, understand perestroyka not just as glasnost which embraces only recognition of crimes which have been committed, but also as a process for eliminating these crimes. The leader [vozhd] of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, Josef Stalin, and his clique during their terror exterminated a greater percentage of the Lithuanian people than the percentage of the population and troops of the USSR which died in

World War II. The Lithuanian people and the other peoples of the Baltic states were not destroyed by the Stalinist terror, by the war, by the postwar war for freedom and independence which went on until 1953 on our territory, or by the mass arrests or exile to remote areas of the USSR. People died in masses but the people survived, live on, and in the new conditions continue the struggle for the freedom and independence of thir homeland. Therefore, they have the right to demand that the USSR—by whose forces Lithuania was deprived of the independence recognized by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and his government, if the USSR is really reconstructing itself and dissociating itself from Stalin's crimes—should, in the first place, itself demonstrate goodwill and undertake the most immediate measures to end this lasting Stalinist crime and eliminate its consequences.

As a deputy from Lithuanian voters, I would also like to say that the construction of a future new Soviet law-governed state, which perestroyka is striving for, is unthinkable if it is built upon illegally-laid foundations. Therefore, as someone endowed with authority by electors from Lithuania, I call upon the Government of the USSR to begin official talks with plenipotentiary representatives of Lithuania in the near future on eliminating Stalinist crimes and restoring the independence of the Lithuanian state. Because this question is closely connected with international law and with the construction of a European home, these talks should be conducted in the presence of representatives of European and other states, the overwhelming majority of which have not recognized de jure the inclusion of the Baltic states within the USSR, and international organizations. As a point of information, I inform you that the Suprme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, at the 15th session of the 11th convocation, set up a commission to elaborate a plan for the restoration of the independence of Lithuania.

Fully supporting the statement of the Baltic parliamentary group and the deputies from Lithuania, I inform the congress that the peoples deputies from Lithuania, just as the overwhelming majority of deputies from Estonia and Latvia, will not take part in the debate of the draft law on constitutional supervision in the USSR. No representative from Lithuania nor any other citizen of Lithuania will take part in the work of the Constitutional Supervision Committee of the USSR. I request that this statement be included in the protocol of the Second Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR. At the same time, I hand over to the Congress Presidium the 19 December 1989 statement of the Baltic parliamentary group and the 20 December 1989 statement of the peoples deputies from Lithuania for their publication as official documents of the congress. The full text of my speech is also being offered. Thank you for your attention.

Baltic Deputies Debate Constitutional Compliance

LD2212135989 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A two-day discussion on constitutional compliance bills, that at times went to the lengths of ultimatum-type demands, ended at the congress of USSR People's Deputies today.

The division was so obvious that the documents were not put to the vote immediately.

Mutually exclusive points of view were again voiced at the morning session.

The need to create a Committee of Constitutional Compliance is indisputable as a constitutional conflict between the federal state and the union republics is intensifying in the country, Vladimir Yarovoy, director of one of the Tallin plants, believes.

Speaking of the situation in Estonia, he emphasised that the republican leadership, being urged by the Popular Front and its satellites, deliberately follows the road of upsetting the foundations of Soviet legislation.

The outcome of the law-making fever is, he said, that the republic leadership, being urged by the Popular Front and its satellites, deliberately follows the road of upsetting the foundations of Soviet legislation.

The outcome of the law-making fever is, he said, that the republic is now half-way to breaking away from the Union.

"The following question suggests itself: What is the stand of the federal leadership and specifically Mikhail Gorbachev, under the cover of whose name party and state figures of the republic are acting?" Yarovoy said.

"How can one square the assurances by party and state figures about the intention to strengthen the federation and build a law-governed state with the processes that are taking place in some Union republics?"

Ivan Tichonovic, a philosopher from Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, spoke of the infringement of the rights of the Polish population in the republic.

The Polish minority, which accounts for 80 per cent of the population in Vilnius region, pins on constitutional compliance their hopes for the stabilisation of the situation in the country, for the defence of human rights, specifically the rights of ethnic minorities in the union republics, he said.

A Committee of Contitutional Compliance should become a barrier to ethnic chauvinism which increasingly often manifests itself in many regions of the country, including Lithuania, Tichonovic said.

He drew attention to the acts of destruction of many Polish monuments, churches and cemeteries in Lithuania of late as well as to an anti-Pole campaign in the Lithuanian press.

An ultimatum-type demand that the constitutional compliance bills be withdrawn from discussion was voiced by Latvian Justice Minister Viktor Skudra (he is one of four members of the commission for the drafting of a law on constitutional compliance, who stated that it was inadvisable to set up such a committee) and Lithuanian lawyer Kazimir Motieka.

Motieka read a statement that if a Law on Constitutional Compliance is adopted and a Committee of Constitutional Compliance is created, that "will affect the essential sovereign rights of the republics to cancel their laws, including articles of the fundamental law of any republic."

The authors of the statement believe that "the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Soviet Union is devoid of an international legal basis, by virtue of which constitutional compliance and the demand for the supremacy of the laws of the USSR run counter to the principles of the self-determination of the peoples of these republics."

The Baltic deputies stated that they refuse to discuss these issues and participate in voting.

In response to the statement, Yevgeniy Kogan, a researcher from Tallinn, a member of the non-indigenous population of Estonia, said with emotion that such a stand pursues only one aim: to ignore the rights of the non-indigenous population and to steer matters to secession from the USSR.

Congress Divided on Issue

LD2212213389 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—Following a heated discussion of the bills on constitutional compliance at the morning meeting, the Editorial Commission, which drafted these documents, met again for a few hours. The commission sought to take account of deputies' positions, commission Chairman Jangir Kerimov said at its evening meeting.

The discussion brought to light two viewpoints. Some deputies, representatives of the native population of the Baltic republics, were against the formation of the Committee for Constitutional Compliance which, they assert, could become "a tool for recarving" republican constitutions under the pretext of gearing them to the all-union constitution.

Their opponents, including representatives of the non-native population of the Baltic republics, stated that the committee will be an important instrument in defence of human rights, particularly of the national minorities.

The commission sought to take both positions into account, Kerimov said. It is planned to put the Law on Constitutional Compliance into effect on January 1, 1990, except the articles about the constitutions and laws of the union republics being in line with the USSR Constitution and laws. These articles will be put into effect simultaneously with the USSR Constitution's revised section on the USSR's national-state set-up.

In other words, the articles on supervision by the Committee for Constitutional Compliance over the legislation of the union republics will not be in effect until the question of the character of the relationships between the USSR and the union republics is solved.

The commission proposed to include into the bill on constitutional compliance an article saying that the committee's conclusion, "stating that some normative-legal act or its separate articles violate the basic human rights and liberties, sealed in the USSR Constitution and the international treaties ratified by the USSR, makes such an act or its separate articles invalid from the moment the committee makes its conclusion."

Since the specified draft has not resolved a number of questions, the commission decided to meet again to finalize the documents.

Decision on Constitutional Commission Adopted

LD2212131989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1028 GMT 22 Dec 89

["Decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on Assignments to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission on Several Constitutional Questions"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—We transmit the full text of the decision:

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies hereby decides:

1. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet to accelerate the adoption of laws on ownership, land, socialist enterprise, taxation system, common principles of managing the economy, and the social sphere in the union and autonomous republics, the demarcation of powers between the union of the USSR and the union republics, on the common principles of local self-government and the local economy and to present for examination by a routine congress of USSR People's Deputies proposals on the introduction of changes and additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR connected with this.

To acknowledge as possible the bringing into operation of the above-mentioned laws before the relevant changes and additions to the USSR Constitution which have been approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet are examined by a routine congress of USSR People's Deputies.

2. To consider it essential that the Constitutional Commission, taking account of the proposals introduced by the USSR People's Deputies, work on, in the first instance, questions on changes in a number of clauses of the current USSR Constitution and which regulate the principles of the political and economic systems, the national and state systems of the USSR, and present its proposals after their examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet for the approval of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

3. For the Constitutional Commission, taking account of the experience accumulated and the proposals of the USSR People's Deputies, to prepare in good time and to present to the USSR Supreme Soviet, with a view to examining at the congress before the routine elections of USSR People's Deputies, a draft of a new law on the elections of USSR People's Deputies, and the changes in the USSR Constitution necessary for the law to come into force.

[Signed] USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman M. Gorbachev,
Moscow, Kremlin,
19 December 1989

Congress Adopts Resolution on Economic Report

PM2212125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies On Measures for Economic Recovery, Stages of Economic Reform, and Fundamental Approaches to the Elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, having considered the USSR Council of Ministers proposals and discussed the report by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on measures for economic recovery, stages of economic reform, and fundamental approaches to the elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan, notes that the economy's current situation is complex. The consumer market is in a state of imbalance, and the situation as regards money circulation and finances and the country's foreign currency position has deteriorated. Prices for many categories of goods and services are rising without justification. The economy for the time being remains unreceptive toward scientific and technical progress. Special concern is caused by the slow growth of production efficiency. All this is due to the insufficient flexibility of state regulation in the spheres of the national economy during the transition to economic methods of management, it is due to a noncomprehensive and inconsistent approach toward the implementation of economic reform and toward the introduction of economic accountability, and to the decline of responsibility and discipline in many sectors and regions. The national economy has suffered serious losses as a result of strikes and interethnic conflicts.

The congress sees the way out of the prevailing situation as lying through radical perestroyka and the deepening and acceleration of economic reform.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies backs the measures proposed in the USSR Government's program for economic recovery, the state-by-stage implementation of economic reform, and fundamental approaches toward the elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

The congress instructs the USSR Council of Ministers:

To study in depth and, in the process of finalizing the program, to give utmost consideration to the proposals and remarks made by people's deputies at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and to report the results to the USSR Supreme Soviet;

To implement the basic measures for financial recovery, stabilization of money circulation, and satisfaction of the domestic consumer market in 1990-1992. With a view to combating inflation, the role of bank credit should be enhanced and the interest of enterprises in effectively utilizing loan funds should be boosted. There should be a transition to economic methods for regulating money circulation, and a more flexible approach should be adopted toward the provision of credits, the formation of bank reserves, the buying and selling of securities, and the organization of savings and insurance. The necessary measures should be taken to halt the unjustified transfer of money from noncash funds into cash circulation;

To embark on the consistent creation of state union and republican insurance funds to secure stability of the economy's functioning in the event of natural calamities, accidents, and disasters;

To elaborate measures for economic regulation and incentives as regards accepting state orders, increasing the output of consumer goods, and rendering paid services to the population;

To ensure the implementation of specific measures to curb investment demand. It is necessary to accelerate the elaboration and adoption of targeted programs for consolidating the construction industry's material and technical base and boosting the capacities of the construction materials industry so as to satisfy the needs of the national economy and the population;

To implement the necessary measures to enhance the efficiency of foreign trade with faster growth of exports, and especially of products from the processing sectors. Beginning in 1991, the stage-by-stage transition of foreign economic ties with socialist countries is to be implemented under conditions of world prices and with settlements made in freely convertible foreign currency. In 1990 it will be necessary to elaborate a program for transition to ruble convertibility. Work will have to be stepped up on the development of direct foreign economic ties by enterprises, organizations, and regions on the principles of foreign currency cost recovery.

The Congress draws the attention of the USSR Council of Ministers to the need to intensify the social protection of the population— especially of low-income strata, large families, disabled persons, pensioners, and students—on the basis of economic and legal methods, and to boost the effectiveness of state control over the stability of prices for the most important foodstuffs and for clothing and footwear for children and the elderly. A system of index-linking the population's incomes with rising costs of living should be elaborated and adopted in 1990.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies deems it necessary to accelerate the implementation of radical economic reform, economic transformations, and the process of shaping a socialist market.

During the first half of 1990, the USSR Supreme Soviet should consider the draft laws on ownership in the USSR, on the local economy and local self-management, and the fundamentals of USSR and union republic legislation on land which have been submitted for nationwide discussion, as well as the draft laws which have been prepared on a unified taxation system in the USSR, on the socialist enterprise, and on the general principles for leadership of the economy and the social sphere in union and autonomous republics.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructs the USSR Council of Ministers:

To elaborate and submit for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1990 draft laws on the USSR State Bank, the banking system, and investment activity, on the population's employment, and other legislative acts associated with the implementation of economic reform and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress;

To adopt the necessary decisions ensuring prompt implementation of laws coming into force, including the fundamentals of legislation in leasing;

To utilize the 1990-1992 transitional period for the purpose of finalizing the elaboration of economic methods for the national economy's management;

To complete the creation of a tax inspectorate during the first half of 1990;

To ensure strict adherence to the principles of economic accountability which preclude the possibility of funds earned by labor collectives being redistributed on a nonrepayable basis [na bezvozmezdnoy osnove], with the exception of payments authorized by the laws;

To complete in the first half of 1990 the preparatory work on the review of wholesale and purchase prices and to bring them into effect from the beginning of 1991;

To consistently increase the proportion of output sold by enterprises over and above state orders at free or regulated prices, provided that the growth of the volume of production is ensured. The necessary measures should be taken to develop the production and market infrastructure and to transform commodity auctions and periodical trade fairs into permanently operating commodity markets;

To elaborate and implement an antimonopoly program, and to prepare and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet draft legislative acts on competition, joint stock societies, the development of small and medium-size enterprises and of engineering and commissioning centers, diversification of production, and the stepping up of foreign economic ties;

To adopt measures to further improve the labor remuneration system and to create a reliable mechanism ensuring that incomes received are commensurate with labor results. Proposals should be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet to bring the Fundamentals of Labor Legislation into line with the new principles of economic management;

To prepare and implement a program for youth and cadre training for work in the new conditions of economic management;

To implement the necessary amendments to the structure of the national economy's management and the consistent transfer of a considerable proportion of state organs' coordinating functions to enterprises and to their voluntary associations and economically accountable brokerage firms. The activity of state management organs should be targeted on the pursuit of effective economic policy, the implementation of all-Union scientific and technical programs, the placement of state orders, and the regulation of the market;

To implement a package of measures for the transition of republics and regions to self-financing and self-management starting in 1991. A mechanism of mutual relations between union republics and regions in the all-Union market is to be worked out.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructs the USSR Council of Ministers to bear the following fundamental tenets in mind when working on the 1991-1995 plan and selecting its targets, priorities, and national economic proportions.

It is necessary to ensure that the plan is organically coupled with the implementation of measures to deepen the economic reform on the basis of a package of laws setting down qualitatively new approaches toward the functioning of the national economy with due consideration for the development of diverse forms of socialist ownership, market relations and wholesale trade, enterprises' economic autonomy, self-management and self-financing by regions and republics, price reform, and reform of the tax, credit, and finance system. There must be a radical change in the content and mechanism of centralized planning.

In the sphere of scientific and technical progress, it will be necessary to ensure the introduction of economic

methods of management and priority financing of basic research and the most important national economic programs aimed at creating science-intensive production units, energy- and resource-saving technologies, and modern means of communications and at solving the problems of computerization in society, the agro-industrial complex, and the production of consumer goods.

In-depth perestroyka must be implemented in structural and investment policy in favor of the social sphere. The necessary development of base sectors ought to be ensured on the basis of scientific and technical progress and enhanced efficiency of the utilization of the potential created.

The growth of the people's prosperity and the scale of social transformations implemented on a centralized basis ought to be made dependent on the enhanced efficiency of social production.

The plan must be more ecologically oriented in line with the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Immediate Measures for the Country's Ecological Recovery," and it will be necessary to elaborate legal foundations and an economic mechanism for rational utilization of natural resources and ecological safety, and for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and other ecological disasters.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies believes that the following ought to be planned as targeted directives for the social sphere's development during the 13th 5-Year Plan period:

Enhancement of the population's living standards dependent on the end results of production and creation of economic guarantees for citizens' social protection;

Consistent attainment of balance between the demand and supply of goods and services;

Significant improvement of food supplies for the population and of the structure of nutrition, bringing it closer to rational norms;

Satisfaction of the consumer market with nonfood goods;

Consolidation of the material and technical base of health care, physical culture and sports, national education, and culture;

Utmost satisfaction of the population's spiritual and cultural needs in line with the principles of social justice and creation of economic and legal guarantees for the development of national cultures and languages and the protection of historical heritage;

Gradual transition to the implementation of the principle enabling labor collectives and individual citizens to acquire housing through earnings, while maintaining the state allocation of housing for low-income strata of the population.

The plan must envisage specific measures for the priority development of the agro-industrial complex, the provision of social amenities in the countryside, the implementation of the program for the defense industry's conversion, the accelerated utilization of modern technologies in the national economy, the retooling of the light and medical industries, trade, and the services sphere, and the expanded production of high-quality consumer goods.

In the sphere of development of foreign economic activity, it is necessary to plan more active involvement of the USSR and the republics in world economic ties taking into account the changing structure of the world market, and to expand the utilization of new progressive forms of economic cooperation with foreign countries. The 1991-1995 plan should define measures to reduce the foreign debt.

The Congress makes it incumbent upon the USSR Council of Ministers to radically amend the methodology for the plan's elaboration, basing it on social normatives for satisfying Soviet people's needs with due consideration for the cost of living index and rational norms for the consumption of goods and services.

On the basis of these fundamental approaches, the draft 5-year plan for 1991-1995, comprising two clearly defined stages, should be elaborated and presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet not later than 1 September 1990.

The USSR Council of Ministers should submit annually to the USSR Supreme Soviet an analytical report on the socioeconomic situation in the country.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies addresses to the working people an appeal to pool efforts at this difficult and crucial period in the country's life so as to fulfill the tasks associated with society's emergence from the crisis situation.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, The Kremlin, 20 December 1989

Academician Laverov on Economic Program

PM2212110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

["Snap Interview" with Academician N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, by PRAVDA parliamentary correspondent Yu. Ursov: "N.P. Laverov: 'Bread of Democracy'"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies has supported the government's economic program. But its significance does, of course, transcend exclusively economic problems. Academician N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and

chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, answered PRAVDA parliamentary correspondent Yu. Ursov's questions.

[Ursov] Nikolay Pavlovich, one transparent idea can be discerned in many speeches made by deputies at the congress: The fullest and most reliable information is needed to adopt a competent decision....

[Laverov] I agree, if information is interpreted in the broad sense—precise initial figures, scientific treatises, progressive concepts and models forecasting social development based on analysis of reliable data. If we proceed from this premise, we will succeed in avoiding an extremely great danger, where even democratic mechanisms do not guarantee us against mistakes.

In this connection it may be pointed out that a market economy which makes extensive use of the achievements of the human intellect as a commodity has become attractive to many people. But even in highly developed countries that does not help ensure production's susceptibility to the scientific and technical revolution. I am delighted that we are hearing more and more speeches at the congress in which deputies urge us to direct our attention in earnest to scientific and technical progress, notably the in-depth automation of society, without concentrating on the primitive ideas of a market.

It is appropriate to recall the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference devoted to the problems of scientific and technical progress. The fact that its decisions were largely left unimplemented is another matter for discussion.

[Ursov] That situation won't repeat itself with the measures outlined in the government program?

[Laverov] I don't think so, judging by the mood in the government and among USSR people's deputies. State budget appropriations for top-priority areas of science and technology are increasing substantially. In 1990, for instance, they will be over 50 percent up on 1989. But the most magnificent figures must be invested in the integral concept for improving the management of scientific and technical progress in conditions of radical economic reform. This draft concept has been elaborated. The proposed measures include a system for taxing enterprises and organizations to stimulate the development of science and technology, the formation of new science-and-production structures, and the creation of "high-risk" trailblazing firms....

It is also extremely important to adopt a package of laws which provide a legal foundation for scientific and technical progress: A law on scientific and technical priorities and a law on innovation organizations, and others. I would also stress that laws on intellectual property and invention in the USSR may be very important.

'Rapid Growth of Crime' Discussed

LD2212214489 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondents:

The anxiety of Soviet people at the rapid growth of crime in the country was reflected by today's discussion at the Second Congress of People's Deputies. More than 100 deputies indicated their wish to speak in the debates that followed the reports of Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin and Procurator-General Aleksandr Sukharev.

Many speakers pointed to the crisis in the economy and ever greater disproportions in the country's political and social development as causes of aggravation.

Yuriy Kalmykov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, supported these conclusions and noted that organised crime was stimulated by excessive centralisation, shortages, and even "new forms of economic management introduced lately". Kalmykov was referring to cooperatives sometimes used to screen the activity of "shadow economy" dealers. Kalmykov stressed the need to improve the system of economic relations and expedite the promulgation of the law on property.

Speakers also called for boosting the material resources at the disposal of the law enforcement bodies, perfecting their structure, adopting the law on the militia soon, and updating procedural legislation.

The accomplishment of these tasks must become a matter of state concern, Mars Safiulin, a worker from Tataria on the Volga, stressed. He pointed out the need to pay the closest attention to problems of the younger generation. Neglect of these problems, he said, made young people turn to crime more often than any other age group. The level of crime among the 17-year-olds is presently four times that among the thirty-year-olds, he said.

Metropolitan Aleksey of Leningrad and Novgorod said many troubles and problems resulted from the loss of moral values. "Only morality reborn can help us overcome this crisis." he said. The Metropolitan stressed that "under perestroyka favourable prospects are opening up for the activity of religious organisations in the field of society's spiritual renewal".

Speaking about the events in some regions of the Western Ukraine, he described as "a crying shame" what some adherents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church did to orthodox believers. This issue has become a "bitter pain for Russian Orthodox believers and for orthodoxy in general", the church dignitary said.

Speakers were at one in proclaiming that measures to combat crime can only be effective if they are backed by political, economic, social and moral transformations.

The debate on the issue will continue tomorrow.

Lukyanov Comments

LD2212161889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Excerpts] At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: We are going over to our correspondents' post in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The report is by Leonid Lazarevich:

[Lazarevich] The congress is now discussing the issue of measures to combat organized crime. [passage omitted]

During the break here in the Palace of Congresses, deputies discussed this problem, which is very acute and painful for all of us. I managed to conduct an interview with Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. I asked why, specifically, the issue of organised crime had been put on the agenda. Here is Anatoliy Ivanovich's reply to me:

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] It amounts to a very small percentage of all crime, a small percentage, but that percentage is very harmful, so to speak. Therefore, we took just one little bit of crime, but actually, the minister of internal affairs, when he talked about that, spoke today about all the problems of crime at once; because one cannot talk about organized crime without speaking about the state of crime as a whole. I am in favor of crime being...[changes thought] that we should not be engaging in a fight against crime, but should declare war on it—and we are declaring such a war on it.

[Lazarevich] You know, such a war has, unfortunately, already been declared more than once, and, very unfortunately, without success.

[Lukyanov] Well, all the same, it has to be organized. That's not so simple. It has to be organized together, together with the newspaper men, who will not abuse the law-enforcement bodies where they should not, together with society and together with our public as a whole, with the collectives of enterprises. Only then, through joint efforts, will we be able to solve the problem of crime—and also through the development of the economy. It's not so simple. Thus, it is a general problem; it must not be taken as a private problem in just the work of the law-enforcement bodies. [end recording]

Moscow TV Relays 23 Dec Congressional Session

1315 GMT

LD2312151289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1315 GMT on 23 December begins a recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1316 GMT Mikhail Gorbachev declares the morning session of the congress open. He says a few words on the situation in Romania, which has deteriorated during the night in Bucharest. Forces loyal to Ceausescu entered the city and there was firing during the night. Casualty figures are not known. Hotbeds of resistance remain. Gorbachev says there have been reports concerning the arrest of Ceausescu, but nothing is confirmed.

At 1320 GMT Gorbachev returns to the law on constitutional supervision and invites Deputy Kerimov, chairman of the commission, to take the floor.

At 1321 GMT Kerimov refers to a proposal by deputies from the interregional group about the chairmanship of the commission.

At 1322 GMT, Gorbachev invites Comrade Lauristan to take the floor. Lauristan makes a few proposals on procedural matters. There have been a lot of differences on the law and the composition of the committee. She says: Our experience in these past months makes us confident that the order we have established is the guarantee that we will keep the confidence of our voters. She speaks about the way the supervision commission is to be formed. since the members will be responsible only to their own consciences, their personal qualities become all the more important. She proposes that the congress should instruct the Supreme Soviet to work out recommendations for subsequent confirmation.

At 1327 GMT, an unidentified deputy takes the floor to make further procedural remarks. He says that the Baltic republics, despite their assurances to the contrary, have indeed embarked upon the path of leaving the USSR. If the Baltic peoples really want to leave, them no one will want to prevent them by force, but some mechanism will have to be worked out, perhaps a referendum. We are united by the Constitution, he says, by union ownership of the means of production. These factors, plus the ethnic composition of the population of the republics, are what prevents the Baltic republics from leaving. We must, therefore, work out a law providing for withdrawal from the Soviet Union which will stipulate the compensation that must be paid for the forces of production provided by the union. [applause] On the constitutional supervision committee, we are deciding the destiny of our country. Let us therefore be honest and say what we believe. The amendment gives the republics carte blanche when it says that the supervision committee cannot supervise the individual constitutions of the republics. Let us pass the law without any amendments.

At 1336 GMT, an unidentified deputy from Latvia takes the floor. He says he feels insulted: We are supposed to be discussing procedural issues; that is the first point. Secondly, Latvia played an important part in the formation of the Union. Latvians are not the only nationality living in Latvia; there are Russians, Jews, and Poles,

At 1337 GMT Deputy Krayko takes the floor, he speaks in favor of adopting the compromise that has been proposed with a view to securing a two-thirds majority. Vote for the law on constitutional supervision, he says,

and goes on to talk about the procedures for the formation of the supervising committee, saying the two issues must be taken up separately.

1340 GMT

LD2312151589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1340 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Deputy Minzhurenko from Umsk takes the floor. He Says the committee will have to supervise the present Constitution, including Article 6, and that more than 800 deputies, have expressed themselves in favor of discussing that article. He says he was chosen as deputy under the slogan: All power to the soviets.

At 1342 GMT, an unidentified deputy takes the floor. He, also had thought it wrong to set up a constitution supervision commission under the old Constitution, but he has been convinced otherwise. Three points are important: Time should be given for further discussion, forcing things through will never lead to success, and we must keep to the right procedure. He therefore proposes: continue the discussion, pass it to the Supreme Soviet, and let that body make the final discussion without waiting for a new congress.

At 1345 GMT, Deputy Yarovoy takes the floor. We are deciding the fate of our country, he says, calling for the law to be adopted today and for the committee to be set up: This is essential in order to preserve our federation.

At 1348 GMT, Deputy Sandulyak takes the floor and asks for the law to be passed, including the amendment.

At 1349 GMT, Deputy Roy Medvedev speaks. Very complex processes are taking place, he says: We never have had a federation before; we have had a unitary state. He continues: I do not share all the views expressed in the Baltic, but we should not go counting all the millions we have invested there. [murmurings in the hall] He considers that under conditions of tough confrontation we ought to think about it further and make the decision later.

At 1352 GMT, Deputy Akhromeyev takes the floor, saying: This is one of those days that will determine how we move further in our federation: toward reconciliation or toward aggravation. We should be more caring in our attitude toward our federation. The amendment has two important aspects: It recognizes the dynamic nature of our Constitution, and it will guarantee the rights of citizens of our country. If we adopt these amendments, our consciences will be clear before the country in the future.

At 1355 GMT, an unidentified speaker takes the floor who does not agree with the deputies from the Baltic republics. Let us adopt a constitutional control committee that will prevent the adoption of unconstitutional laws in the republics, he says.

At 1357 GMT, Deputy Gryazin takes the floor. At this stage, he says, he stands on the platform "No to a constitutional control committee." The amendment that has been proposed must exist, but much will depend on how it is interpreted. Human rights have to be defended, but we must know what we mean by this. Let us have more time.

At 1400 GMT, Deputy Semenko says she sees no reason why the law should be brought back to the congress. The law has some very important clauses. Look, for example, at what Article 10 states. The amendment proposed by the commission is a very good, diplomatic, and tactful compromise. Please adopt the law.

At 1403 GMT, Deputy Bazarova calls for wisdom and careful thought. We must respect our laws and constitution, She says: unfortunately we do not always do so, and if republics adopt laws contrary to the constitution it can lead only to anarchy. We now need to consolidate all healthy forces to insure the triumph of perestroyka and the stabilization of our country. We have no time to put right mistakes. Let us set up the Constitutional Supervision Committee.

Here, the recording ends with an announcement that it will resume in 15 minutes.

1422 GMT

LD2312155189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1422 GMT on 23 December resumes its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Karasev says that the debate on constitutional supervision is failing to address the wider problems: the country and the economy are "distintegrating." At this point, Karasev is called to order for straying away from the subject, and Gorbachev asks whether the debate should end here. Most are in favor of ending.

At 1425 GMT, Gorbachev sums up the debate. He begins by criticizing the interregional group of deputies for their attacks on the congress. Gorbachev rejects "decisively and irreversibly" any attempt to bury socialism. He reasserts his belief that only perestroyka can save socialism; he remains a "convinced Communist."

At 1430 GMT, Gorbachev looks back at the issues discussed by the congress. We must remain loyal to the choice made by the October Revolution, he emphasizes. The peoples of the Soviet Union have been united over centuries and not just over the past 70 years. There is a "huge reserve of internationalism" in the Russian people. It is not the Russian nation that is responsible for

the Soviet Union's misfortunes, but the mistakes of the past. Self-determination through separatism leads to "dissension, bloodshed, and death," Gorbachev says with great animation. The task is to fill the federation with new substance, cooperating within a single union.

At 1436 GMT, Gorbachev continues: Everyone wants fast solutions, but there are no simple answers to economic and other problems. The debate resulted in a compromise solution on the issue of constitutional supervision, Gorbachev explains, and defends the amendments made to the draft. We are making "thorough progress," he says.

At 1441 GMT, Gorbachev says there are three different versions of the draft in circulation: the initial draft, the amended draft, and a draft submitted by Baltic deputies. One of these has to be selected. Many have proposed that deputies vote on this issue by name. Gorbachev puts this proposal to the vote, and a majority vote in favor.

At 1447 GMT, Gorbachev reads out the proposed amendments to the draft on constitutional supervision. The deputies vote on the amendments, which are adopted by a majority.

At 1454 GMT, an amendment to the procedure for implementing the law on constitutional supervision is put to the vote: 1,656 vote for, 119 against, 111 abstain. The amendment is adopted.

At 1457 GMT, Gorbachev puts the USSR Law on Constitutional Supervision in the Soviet Union, with its amendments, to the vote. It is adopted, with 1639 in favor and 137 against.

At 1500 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on the congress' decision on the procedure for implementing the law on constitutional supervision, incorporatng the newly adopted amendment: 1,647 vote in favor, 116 against, 113 abstain. The decision is adopted.

At 1504 GMT, Gorbachev reads out an amendment to a draft law amending Article 125 of the Constitution and calls for a vote on it: 1,763 are in favor, 47 against, and the amendment is adopted.

At 1508 GMT, the law on amendments and addenda to Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution, incorporating the amendment, is put to a vote: 1,735 vote in favor, 61 against. The law is adopted.

At 1511 GMT, at the request of Deputy Lauristin, a proposal on constitutional supervision submitted by Baltic deputies is given a first-reading vote: 306 vote for, 1,521 against, 70 abstain. The proposal is rejected.

1514 GMT

LD2312163989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1514 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev moves on to the matter of electing the Committee for Constitutional Supervision. He gives brief information on changes to the list of candidates. Alekseyev has been put forward as chairman of the committee. Gorbachev describes him as a "major politician and lawyer," who can be entrusted with that job. Lazarev is proposed as deputy chairman. He says that N.V. Fedorov has been put forward for membership in the new committee. Estonian Deputy (Keres) withdraws his name from the list of candidates in light of the nature of the adopted law on constitutional supervision. Deputy (Stachokas) also has withdrawn his name in writing, Deputy Bichkauskas announces. (Stachokas) has explained that he is unable to attend the congress.

At 1524 GMT, an unidentified deputy comes to the rostrum to complain about the proposed list of committee members. The working commission had agreed to include four representatives of the autonomous formations. Gorbachev says the matter will be sorted out. Another unidentified deputy proposes that the committee chairman be elected today and the members at the next Supreme Soviet sitting. Gorbachev says this runs counter to the law just adopted.

At 1525 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on other procedural matters concerning Article 125.

At 1532 GMT, Deputy Pronin proposes the rotation of 50 percent of the committee members. Gorbachev puts it to a vote. The proposal is adopted.

At 1536 GMT, Gorbachev notes the need for chairmen and vice chairman to be elected for the Committee for Constitutional Supervision. He proposes the candidacy of Alekseyev for the post of the chairman and calls a vote. Alekseyev is elected as chairman with 1644 in favor. Gorbachev then proposes Lazarev for the post of deputy chairman. From the rostrum Lazarev summarizes his biography and achievements. He then says that Article 6 of the Constitution should be thoroughly discussed. He thinks that the passage in this article regarding the role of the proletariat is valuable and should be preserved. He also thinks that the passage on the leading role of the party should retained as very important. Gorbachev calls for a vote on Lazarev's candidacy. With 1382 in favor, Lazarev is elected as deputy chairman of the committee.

At 1545 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on increasing the number of the members of the Committee for Constitutional Supervision from 21 to 25. The proposal is adopted by a majority vote.

At 1549 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote in issuing instructions to the Supreme Soviet to elect the members of the Constitutional Supervision Committee at its next sitting. The proposal is adopted.

At 1551 GMT; Gorbachev reads out notes from deputies on the need to stop debates and start voting on issues on the struggle against organized crime. Gorbachev reads

out a proposal on the need to hold debates without media coverage on the Gdlyan-Ivanov affair.

At 1558 GMT, Gorbachev calls a vote on ending the debate on crime. The motion is passed. Gorbachev proposes 2 hours for the commission report on the Tbilisi affair and the Gdlyan-Ivanov case, and for holding debates on them.

At 1600 GMT, Gdlyan is called to the rostrum to make a speech. He says that discussing his and Ivanov's case will take much longer than 1 hour and 40 minutes, as the matter is very complex and intricate. Gorbachev calls for a vote on the procedure for debating the Gdlyan-Ivanov affair.

1606 GMT

LD2312171489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1606 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1606 GMT, the congress votes to decide on the allocation of time for the commission reports and debates by name. Gorbachev puts the first option to the vote: to hold a debate on the commission reports. A vote by name is held and the option is adopted.

A second vote is held on whether to broadcast the commission reports and debates: 1,583 for, 177 against.

At 1614 GMT, Deputy Sobchak comes to the microphone to suggest that no debate be held on the Tbilisi commission report in view of the "acute situation" in the Caucasus today. The commission's report will be published in full in the press. Replying to a question from the floor, Sobchak repeats that the debate may "aggravate interethnic conflicts."

A deputy in army uniform reminds Sobchak that the congress decided to hear a report from the chief military procurator on the Tbilisi incident.

Another deputy asks if the commission voted on whether the congress should debate the report. No, it did not, Sobchak answers. The deputy asks whether the congress can give a political assessment of the incident on the basis of a report alone.

Deputy Obolenskiy asks about the KGB film of events in Tbilisi. Will it be shown publicly? Sobchak replies that the commission is in favor of showing it on television, but that technical problems will have to be dealt with first.

At 1626 GMT, Gorbachev thanks Sobchak for replying to the questions. He calls for a repeat vote on whether to debate the commission reports. If there is a debate, he adds, this will include the report by the military procurator. The deputies vote in favor. Gorbachev calls for a repeat vote on whether the proceedings should be broadcast. The majority vote in favor.

At 1635 GMT unidentified delegate in army uniform calls for speeches by Sobchak and main military procurator only to be broadcast; further debates can lead to nothing good, he says.

Gorbachev calls a vote on this point. Result: 1,018 for; 599 against; 66 abstained.

A clergyman delegate then says he supports Sobchak.

At 1644 GMT Gorbachev says 90 minutes maximum is to be devoted to this issue and the issue of the Afghan war.

At 1645 GMT Interior Minister Bakatin takes the floor. It is true, he says, that policemen's pensions are increased according to the length of their service. In reply to a question on whether video evidence might be used by the security organs to persecute citizens, Bakatin says there is a complex system of guarantees to prevent this.

At 1650 GMT a question from the floor on South Ossetia: Bakatin says the situation there is complex. There is no blockade there or any situation which would require the introduction of MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops. "The situation is stabilising". Gorbachev intervenes: Are we having oral questions or written ones?

At 1652 GMT, Procurator General Sukharev takes the floor to answer written questions. A question from Molotkov asks what can be done to rapidly increase the efficiency of the procuracy. He is also asked about the procuracy's supervision. In response to another question, Sukharev reaffirms his opposition on the death penalty for juveniles, even for serious crimes. Relatives of convicts are permitted to work in the procuracy.

At 1700 GMT Gorbachev announces a break.

1701 GMT

LD2312182389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1701 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1701 GMT Gorbachev updates the situation on Romania. There has been appeals from the Romanian National Salvation Committee for aid. Now the acuity of the situation is lessening. Most of the army is at one with the people. Television and radio are continuing to function. The Soviet Government and Ministry of Health is providing medical aid—medicines and specialists. The authorities are in contact with appropriate bodies elsewhere, in Bulgaria and France for example. Bucharest Airport is blocked, so the assistance has not been delivered. One Soviet citizen is injured.

It is not known where Ceausescu is. There has been a report that his brother has committed suicide. Warsaw Pact countries are coordinating their activities in the interests of supporting the Romanian people. An operation group has been set up at government level.

At 1706 GMT the report on organized crime starts. Deputy Semenko takes the floor. The commission on this issue has called for uniting all efforts to combat the problem. Legal measures are necessary, she says, to enable the rapid uncovering of those responsible for crimes.

At 1715 GMT a vote is called to approve a decision on intensifying the struggle against organized crime. result: for 1,832; against 16; abstained 30.

At 1720 GMT Deputy Khmura calls for a vote on an amendment: It is rejected by a show of hands.

At 1722 GMT Deputy Shchelkanov insists on a vote on another amendment to do with military crimes: A name vote is held. The amendment is adopted.

At 1727 GMT an unidentified deputy submits an amendment calling for a public security bureau to be set up to combat crime; he also wants a committee on coruption to be established. The proposal is rejected.

At 1734 GMT Deputy Petrushenko submits another amendment. It is rejected.

At 1735 GMT Lukyanov, chairing the session, declares the discussion of organized crime over.

1736 GMT

LD2312190189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1736 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Kryuchkov provides data on the numbers of members who have spoken during the congress. He sums up the main themes of written messages which have been received, calling for resolutions on various issues. He provides data on the congress material which is being published, and on meetings which have been organized during the congress with heads of government departments. Dissatisfaction had been voiced by some deputies that certain issues have not been discussed. Many collective requests had been received by the congress. The Secretariat has been working hard during the congress, he says, to cope with all these matters.

At 1750 GMT various deputies express certain misgivings about Kryuchkov's report, one saying that the Secretariat has infringed the congress' standing orders by its way of running things.

At 1800 GMT Deputy Aleksandr Yaklovev takes the floor. He recalls the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 1939. The secret protocol to this part first became known at the Nueremburg trials in 1946. Before this not even the Party Central Committee knew of it. The reason for its secrecy was the agreement between Stalin and Hitler to share influence over East European countries. The first congress of people's deputies set up a commission to investigate the matter.

The commission, he said, was unable to right any wrongs which had been committeed, but the lessons of the past could be learned.

Yakovlev refers to a statement by UK Prime Minister Baldwin in 1936 to the effect that if Europe was to fight, then better that the fight should be between the communists and the fascists. He cites the agreements reached between France and Britain, on one side, and Hitler's Germany on the other, which had made the Soviet Union's position less secure. He rehearses the events and the arguments of the era.

At 1825 GMT Yakovlev continues with results of the commission's investigations into the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. He recounts in great detail the history behind the pact. It is now clear, he says, that Stalin was suspicious of Hitler, Chamberlain, and the French in equal measure. Soviet intelligence warned the Soviet leadership back in July 1939 that the Germans were going to invade Poland in September. Stalin received ample warning—on 7 August 1939—that the Germans would soon be in a position to go to war, any time in late August onwards. He lists more instances of Soviet intelligence's forewarnings.

At 1838 GMT Yakovlev starts to summarize what he has said. The upshot of the investigations is that the Soviet Union could not have acted otherwise. It had to spin out the start of the war as long as possible. That said, it was quite a shock for all communists—even if they did not know of the secret protocols—that there could have been a pact with Hitler. It has now been ascertained that there was indeed a secret protocol. The pact was, in fact, signed in contravention of the Soviet Union's internal laws. This is probably the first time that the events of the prewar period have been criticized so heavily, but this had to happen some time.

At 1847 GMT Yakovlev ends.

1848 GMT

LD2312200289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1848 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Yakovlev answers questions on his report. The first question is asked by a military man who is unhappy about the terms of reference of the commission. Yakovlev answers that the commission could only be guided by those terms of reference. Another deputy asks about

the Comintern's role in instructing communist parties to alter their stand toward Nazi Germany and to become friendly toward it. Yakovlev replies that the Comintern had been placed in a very difficult position, since it did not know of the secret protocol. There were a great many contradictory moves at the time.

At 1853 GMT Deputy Sukhov asks whether there can be a guarantee that Britain and France could not have invaded the Soviet Union. This provokes laughter. Yakovlev replies that there is no saying how France or Britain would have behaved—all we can say is how the USSR should have acted. Sukhov comes back to ask whether Soviet people can be considered to have been superior to Baltic people, in the same way as a German soldier was considered superior to a Romanian officer. Yakovlev claims not to have understood the question and deems it a statement.

At 1856 GMT Deputy Yorga asks about Bessarabia and says that if Bessarabia was part of the Tsarist empire, how could it have been returned to the Soviet Union? Yakovlev parries by quoting the terms of reference of the commission—the 1939 pact.

At 1859 GMT Deputy Irgashev wonders about the absence of the secret protocols in the archives of every country, and goes on to ask about the adoption of the resolution in entirety. Yakovlev says 25 members of the commission were in favor of adopting the comission in full.

At 1905 GMT Lukyanov says there are no further questions and asks Yakovlev to sit down. He then goes on to make a few procedural announcements before the break.

At 1903 GMT Deputy Poltoranin comes to the podium to offer an explanation for the nondelivery of a note.

At 1904 GMT Lukyanov announces a 30-minute break.

At 1905 GMT the session resumes.

At 1908 GMT Lukyanov says we are going to discuss the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, but first of all a few notes. First of all a note from Burlatskiy saying that the debate on the report should not begin because the report had been so balanced and any attempts by deputies to expand the terms of reference are out of place. Two deputies insist on a debate, so Lukyanov wants to put the issue to a vote. The overwhelming majority wants no debate but to proceed directly to discussion of the resolution on the issue.

At 1914 GMT Deputy Klokov takes the floor to say that he is in agreement with the theses and content of the report.

At 1917 GMT Deputy Petrushenko says the commission should have examined the documents of the Baltic republics dating from 1989 as well, since they are organically linked to the 1939 treaty. By adopting these documents, the Baltic republics disregarded the political consequences.

At 1921 GMT Deputy Yeremey takes the floor: the commission was mandated to investigate the treaty of 1939. He asks the congress to adopt the commission's resolution. However, he wants the mandate extended to investigate the treaties leading to the entry of the Baltic and other republics in the USSR.

At 1925 GMT another deputy takes the podium to say he approves of adopting the resolution in entirety.

At 1929 GMT a deputy wants the battle of Khalkin Gol to be included in the draft of the resolution in point 2.

At 1930 GMT a Latvian deputy says that just because de facto the Latvian republic no longer exists, that does not mean it does not exist in the minds of people.

At 1932 GMT a deputy says that since there have been no secret protocols found in any archives, the congress or the commission cannot condemn the fact of their signing.

At 1933 GMT a deputy makes an observation on point 4 of the resolution. Furthermore, if we condemn the signing of the pact by the prewar leadership—insofar as the leadership was the same during and after the war—we are placing many more agreements in doubt.

At 1935 GMT a deputy from the veterans' organization wants some reshuffling of the points contained in the draft resolution.

1937 GMT

LD2312203189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1937 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Sidorov complains about the fact that if the originals of the secret protocols have not been found, then it is impossible to maintain that there is no doubt of their existence.

At 1939 GMT another deputy says he must be very naive to have thought that Yakovlev's virtuoso report would have laid to rest the witch hunt in the Baltic Republics. It offers the perfect opportunity to cleanse ourselves of the falsehood of the Stalin-Molotov times. It must be recognized that the 1939 deal—conspiracy—was the reason for World War II. He calls on the deputies to approve the resolution. He says there simply cannot be any doubt of the existence of the protocols—he has held the film in his hands.

At 1947 GMT a deputy who worked with the commission said that to start with the commission was divided

in its opinions. He has absolutely no doubt that the secret protocol existed. He is very disappointed that some deputies are trying to cast doubt on the conclusions of the commission.

At 1949 GMT Deputy Landsbergis recalls some of the recent anti-pact actions held in the Baltic republics, at which the pact was described as shameful. He also recalls Chancellor Kohl's statement that Germans recognize their part in this shameful deed. So far there has not been anything similar from the Soviet Union. He wants the commission to continue with its investigation into the treaties of 1940.

At 1953 GMT Deputy Medvedev suggests some amendments to a number of points in the draft resolution.

At 1954 GMT an historian deputy says he has never in all his days come across such a well balanced, clear, and accurate document, and he hopes the congress will approve the text of the draft resolution, since no historian in the world has any doubt that the secret protocols did exist.

At 1956 GMT Lukyanov says there have been lots of proposals to curtail the debate. Not many are in favor of continuing it. Lukyanov suggests getting the commission to think again before tomorrow, because there have been so many proposals from the floor. However, he puts the draft resolution to the vote. The vote is: 1052 in favour; 678 against; 150 abstentions. Thus the resolution does not get the required 50 percent of votes. There is another proposal to accept point one of the resolution and to append to it the report of the commission. A third proposal is to accept point one without the appendix, but that does not make sense, so the only proposal we can vote on is the second proposal—to accept point one and append the report to it. Voting takes place: 952 are in favour; 762 against; 138 abstentions—so this proposal has also failed to gain the requisite number of votes.

At 2009 GMT a deputy wonders why those deputies who voted against the resolution cannot accept that it only contains what was universally acclaimed in the report.

At 2010 GMT a deputy proposes another variation on which points to accept. Yet another deputy proposes a repeat vote but this time by name.

At 2013 GMT Lukyanov says all the potential votes would take so long that he suggests that the commission in the guise of Yakovlev return tomorrow, having dealt with the recommendations and suggestions heard today. This is accepted.

2015 GMT

LD2312213789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2015 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

The congress now moves on to the report on the Gdlyan Commission. Deputy Yarin, who was the chairman of the commission, takes the floor. There were grave reasons for setting up the commission, he says. He recapitulates on the background behind the Gdlyan affair and how Churbanov was found guilty. Accusations appeared in newspapers that the Gdlyan investigation was being carried out in an unprofessional way, and that the investigations were being conducted in an illegal fashion. Then the name of Ligachev appeared in accusations of bribery. He continues to catalogue the history of the affair. The long and the short of it was the a 16-man commission was set up. The work of the commission was complicated by the fact that the first congress did not establish its status. Furthermore, there has been disrespect shown toward the commission members. Several members of the commission have reservations about the way the Gdlyan commission went about its work.

There is no need to prove that bribery and corruption was rampant in the late 1970s. This was facilitated by the concentration of power in the hands of a narrow circle of Brezhnev followers, Yarin says.

At 2030 GMT Yarin adduces Uzbek crime figures. He then goes on to describe the activity of the Gdlyan investigative group, enumerating those arrested and sentenced as a result of the group's work. The relatives of those arrested for bribery were also arrested. Yarin adduces many of the wives of suspects who were arrested. During trials the amounts of bribes which the accused were suspected of were increased. Sometimes articles were confiscated without the creation of a list. There were many complaints against Gdlyan and Ivanov of threatening to shoot people.

The Gdlyan group was made up of a large proportion of young investigators from other republics who did not know the traditions, customs, history, and language of Uzbekistan. They should have been monitored. The commission considers that those who bear primary responsibility for the state of affairs that has come about are the former heads of the procuracy. Gdlyan refused any monitoring of his group's work. The conclusion of the commission is that there is no criminal evidence against those whom Gdlyan called the Moscow bribetakers. Publicity has concentrated on Gdlyan's accusations against Ligachev. Since the admission of an Uzbek that he gave bribes to Ligachev, the Gdlyan group could not produce any evidence to support this over 7 months.

At 2049 GMT Yarin says the commission considers that Smirnov, former condidate Central Committee member, was released prematurely. Yarin castigates Gdlyan and Ivanov for continuing printed and oral attacks on private persons, including members of his commission. Positions differed in the commission, but everyone agreed that bribery was a terrible thing which could disintegrate any state.

At 2055 GMT a 30-minute break is announced.

At 2056 GMT the deputies return. Lukyanov announces discussion of the Gdlyan issue.

At 2058 GMT Martenson, an investigator, takes the floor. He gives his curriculum vitae. He has worked in the commission as an observer. He does not want to repeat Yarin. He says that the Gdlyan group has done a thorough, great job. Unfortunately, this work was not always accompanied with regard for the law. The bodies of the procuracy are to guard the law. When they infringe on the rights of private individuals they are also breaking the law. There are over 50 tomes of evidence of corruption in Uzbekistan.

At 2105 GMT Martenson agrees that the investigative apparatus should emanate from the procuracy and the MVD, and should not be an independent body. He repeats that Gdlyan and Ivanov have absolutely no evidence to back up their claims, which from a judicial point of view is unethical.

2113 GMT

LD2312220289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2113 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Stankevich suggests that perhaps the USSR should follow the practice of foreign countries when there is a parliamentary investigation running parallel with the investigation of the judiciary.

At 2116 GMT Martinson says that the acceptance or giving of bribes is a very difficult thing to prove. He stresses the sheer volume of evidence which has passed through his hands.

At 2120 GMT, in answer to a question from Deputy Akhmedov, Martinson says that the 50 people who have had charges against them dropped, were not criminals in the proper sense, but were merely in possession of money obtained illegally.

At 2124 GMT in answer Deputy Yudin talks of the need to review legal procedure in order to avoid accused people languishing without defense.

At 2125 GMT a deputy asks how many of those released by the Gdlyan group, even though they had given bribes, were brought to book again after the Gdlyan group was removed from the affair. He does not receive an answer to his question.

At 2128 GMT a deputy asks whether Deputy Yarin read out the full report of the commission, and what organizations aside from the procuracy did not give evidence. Martinson replies that he cannot answer the first part since he was not actually a member of the commission. The second part remains unanswered.

At 2131 GMT Deputy Adamovich takes the rostrum to express sympathy with Ligachev for the pressure he has been under, although he is sorrier for the country, because it does not feel able to trust its leadership. What happens in other countries? In the United States [former House] Speaker [Jim] Wright came in for criticism over a book and possible bribes. The Democratic Party asked Wright to take another position. He suggests the same could be done with Ligachev and receives some applause for this.

At 2134 GMT Deputy Akbarov says the commission risks losing authority because it has distorted the work of the Gdlyan Commission. He wants an investigation into the extent to which each member of the congressional commission fulfilled the mandate of the congress. He warns that the commission may have wanted to deceive the congress for the benefit of political careerists.

At 2136 GMT an Uzbek deputy says he is satisfied with the work of the commission. But his Uzbek nation has borne the whole of the bribe scandal. He lists some instances of people thrown into prison and persecuted by the Gdlyan group. When a woman said she would complain to the procurator general, Gdlyan said: I am the procurator general. There were many such disgraceful instances.

At 2143 GMT a deputy from the Organization of War and Labor Veterans says that what is at issue here is the honor of the nation. He wants Gdlyan and Ivanov to tell the congress what material they hold.

At 2145 GMT a deputy says the job of the congress is not to decide the extent to which Gdlyan and Ivanov are guilty, but to provide a political assessment.

At 2148 GMT Deputy Saidov wonders how it comes about that there has been such arbitrariness in Uzbekistan? How is it that so many people were wrongly imprisoned?

2151 GMT

LD2312225989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2151 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Ddlyan takes the rostrum and says he is in a difficult position with only 5 minutes to set out the objective picture. He asks for all material to be published so as to combat the wave of criticism that his group has come under in the past year. So what was going on in Uzbekistan? We are accused of all sorts of things, particularly of causing all the misery in Uzbekistan. But in fact our group was the only one in Uzbekistan to combat the mass terror and small-scale genocide that was going on in the republic. Gdlyan says his group has been doing this since 1984. At the start of 1986, if you had seen the way people were breaking the law and indulging in

lawlessness! In the past 6 years we have brought hundreds of people to court. His group appealed to Gorbachev himself he says, sending him a document outlining all the unsavory things going on in Uzbekistan. Now his group is being accused of all sorts of things—all the things which his group was trying to combat, including the imprisonment of pregnant women. On the subject of the arrest of relatives Gdlyan says: Yes, relatives were arrested. But matters should not be oversimplified.

At 2205 GMT Gdlyan says the procurator acted contrary to the law and also contrary to the congress' decision to give the investigative group of deputies the exclusive right to delve into the affair. Gdlyan says it is a misnomer to call it the Uzbek affair—it is equally true of many other areas. The bell rings and he is timed out. However, Gdlyan invites any questions from deputies and he will answer them. A deputy shouts an indistinct question, and Gdlyan says he will answer that with pleasure. It appears to have had something to do with the originals and copies of his group's documents. They are all with the procurator general.

At 2214 GMT a woman deputy, Pamfilova, says that if the documents exist they should be published, and if they do not then stop the demagogy! Gdlyan replies that the documents certainly do exist and says that he wants the documents published.

At 2215 GMT a female deputy says that the way the investigation is being conducted currently is in violation of human rights. Gdlyan replies.

At 2218 GMT Lukyanov says he has 26 requests for Dukhanin, the investigator to come to the podium.

At 2220 GMT Dukhanin takes the platform and explains how he came to be involved with Gdlyan and Ivanov. He was involved in the so-called Smirnov investigation. He has come to the conclusion that the Smirnov case was fabricated and that false witness was given against Smirnov. There were only testimonies—there was never any evidence. He asks that the Smirnov case not be examined in isolation.

At 2227 GMT Dukhanin leaves the podium and Deputy (Ivanov) takes the floor to say that the time is not far away when the country will condemn its own Honeckers, Ceausescus, and Zhivkovs, who have brought the country to the crisis it is in. He cites one provincial party leader sentenced for bribe taking; he had previous convictions. He highlights the turnabout in public opinion since 1984 over what actions are legal and which are instances of investigative lawlessness. He is timed out, but continues talking. In an oblique reference to Article 6, he suggests that Gorbachev must be ill at ease at the one-sided way the problem is being approached.

At 2235 GMT (Ivanov) finally departs, and Deputy Adylov comes to the podium to make a few observations on the way in which the actions of Gdlyan have given rise to indignation among the electorate of Uzbekistan. He holds up a number of documents and protocols signed by Gdlyan to show some of the dirty and lawless approaches employed by the Gdlyan group. Since there is no more time, he hands his speech to the Presidium.

At 2241 GMT Lukyanov wants to call it a day, but amid uproar an unidentifed deputy is granted 2 minutes, during which he says that Gdlyan is not just two-faced, but up to six-faced. He waves an illegal newspaper which, he claims, heaps dirt on our system. It is called GOLOS ISBIRATELYA, or THE VOTER'S VOICE. Finally, he proposes disbanding the commission investigating the actions of Gdlyan and setting up another with broader terms of reference.

At 2245 GMT a deputy proposes that the Congressional Commission should be spared sittings of Congress or the Supreme Soviet and all other distractions, so that it might concentrate on the job in hand.

At 2247 GMT another deputy warns against excessive emotion.

At 2248 GMT Ligachev asks for some time and is granted it.

2249 GMT

LD2312232189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2249 GMT on 23 December continues its recording of the 23 December session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 2249 GMT Ligachev starts speaking and says he scrupulously observed the conditions not to interfere in the work of the commission. Unfortunately, he says, our society has come up against arbitrariness. Ever since 1983 a large group of party workers headed by me has been involved in investigating corruption in Uzbekistan. It was our part that raised the banner of fighting corruption. Our task was to try to change the situation and create an atmosphere in Uzbekistan that was against corruption and abuse. Some 30,000 letters were received from workers in Uzbekistan complaining of high level corruption before Rashidov of Uzbekistan died. He showed these to Andropov. The decision was made to send me to a plenum of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. After the plenum, during which I am accused of taking my first bribes, however absurd that might seem, I returned to the party Central Committee and was asked to speak about my trip. This speech has now been published. This was in the middle of 1984. Painstaking work was undertaken with our Uzbek comrades to purge the top cadres of unsuitable people who were poisoning the atmosphere in the republic. Instances of corruption and abuse of power were uncovered, and this work roused a huge public response, both in the republic and throughout the country. Unfortunately, however, two people decided to take advantage of the situation. Push the law to the side and indulge in slander—that was their

way. Here, then, we have an instance of people bleating about democracy, yet acting in a hypocritical way. There is no guarantee that tomorrow a new lie will appear. There has been a great attempt to discredit good communists and worthy people and this must be condemned. That said, bribetaking and corruption must be stamped out, Ligachev states.

Ligachev continues, saying there are some other points that I would like to speak about. It is accepted by the Politburo that a more moral atmosphere is needed. I object to any comparison between our leaders and the bankrupt leaders like Honecker, etc.

Ligachev asks: Why ws the Ligachev case investigated at a plenum of the party Central Committee? Well, I took advantage of the party rules to raise the matter. Harking back to Mr. Adamovich's suggestion, I have no intention of following the example of Mr Wright, however much I might respect him. I consider it my duty to work on and demonstrate my devotion to the cause for as long as the party wants me. I am not caught between two stools, as are some. So far as my position generally is concerned, it is quite clear. I should like to tell you Mr. Adamovich, that each year I receive hundreds of letters from working people voicing their support for me, and that is some support to me in my decision to carry on, Ligachev says.

At 2305 GMT Ligachev ends.

At 2306 GMT Lukyanov proposes that the commission investigating the Gdlyan case should continue with its work and produce its findings and recommendations at the next congress.

At 2306 GMT A woman deputy wants to submit a proposal, but is told by Lukyanov that they are about to vote on what he has just proposed.

At 2306 GMT voting is in progress. Result: 1299 for; 128 against; and 69 abstentions. The resolution is adopted.

At 2309 GMT the woman deputy comes back. Lukyanov makes a procedural announcement. At 2310 GMT the recorded coverage ends.

Gorbachev Sums Up Constitutional Control Debate

LD2312180289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1425 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Remarks by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 23 December, summing up the debate on constitutional supervision—recorded]

[Text] Permit me to sum up the exchange which has taken place here. First, I shall begin with what there is in common in the speeches by certain comrades who are already here—and it is also reaching me through other channels—accusing. The last speaker here directly fulfilled his instructions from the Interregional Group [IRG], which is trying all the time to insinuate that our society is collapsing, perishing, and that only the program and ideas of the IRG can save it. Incidentally, they do not have those programs, but only, so to speak, some sort of eclectics and fragments of all that. If they had any we would like to hear them and we would welcome them here. Comrade Alksnis, Deputy Alksnis, whether he likes it or not, is also rather close to these opinions and I see, comrades—this gets to me—I hold to a particular position and I shall now express it once again. If anyone thinks that everything that we are doing amounts to disruption, then it is a very serious matter. Here we have the supreme organ of power, and it should determine its position. By the way, all the time the IRG is suggesting this in order to push the congress into this and to replace, you understand, to carry out an internal revolution by all of these democratic methods.

I must say frankly that claims against me—and even perhaps against some other people here—that I am taking part or, even more, that I am carrying out someone's order to destroy the party, the state, the federation, to bury socialism, I reject decisively and irrevocably. [applause] Do you agree with this or not? [applause]

People say to me, this has happened in public more than once and there are witnesses to this, that Gorbachev is trying to sit on two stools. At one of the public meetings I said that I am sitting on my own stool. [applause] This is not the chair that you have put me into. But from the start I would say that this is from the point of view of my position. My position is clear. We need to treat a sick society. No pills can save it. We need serious and radical measures with regard to the economy, the basis, with regard to the political process—political reform is needed—and with regard to the spiritual state and the moral state of society. It must be treated and treated radically. Only in this way will we give oxygen and a second wind to our country, to our society, and to the people who have contributed so much, borne and contributed a vast, perhaps one of the greatest contributions, to the development and progress of our civilization. All of this must be done.

I confirm that I am sitting on my own stool. I am a communist. I shall remain a convinced one. For some people this may be a fantasy, something up in the air somewhere, but for me it is a goal. It is a long way off. It is necessary to traverse various stages.

Today perestroyka is the salvation of socialism; it is a second wind for everything that is contained in society and in the people's system. In the framework of this system it is possible to resolve issues in the interests of man; it is possible to make our society more just, more humane, and more democratic. I am confident that we will not resolve this task either on the basis of the past Stalinist values or on the basis of those which they are trying to place before us—the idea of creeping capitalism, convergence, and so forth.

If this convergence means that we shall make use of our own experience and that we shall take what is best in

civilization, then I am in favor of such convergence. This is a Leninist convergence. You can only become a communist when you have assimilated the entire wealth of what man has created. I do not claim to be quoting verbatim. [applause]

That is why I reject it right away. If you do not agree, decide on this question even today.

This is in the first place. Now for the essence. Comrades, since we are at a stage of revolutionary change—and they are such—every day and every time we take a new step we make a choice; we make a choice. Take this: We have begun to tackle the economy. Questions of ownership, questions of land, questions of new forms of economic life, questions of the market—how we should organize it and so on and so forth now that all these questions have emerged. It is necessary to make a choice, remaining faithful to our goals. We proceed along the road chosen by the October Revolution, filling our socialist system and our society with real content.

We have begun to tackle the questions of the political system, and we have made our choice.

Socialism cannot exist as socialism; it will no longer be socialism if the main element, the people, is detached from developing and adoption of political decisions and from forming the bodies of power from the bottom up. We have embarked on that road—be it easy or hard. Look at how painfully all the processes are moving and how hard it all is for us.

A federation. What is politics? The art of the possible. Everything else is just adventurism. So the greatest, one of the most important realities of our country is the peoples living in this land—not merely people who have come in from somewhere else, but people whose roots go back into centuries of history. Each one has its roots, its traditions, and its culture, yet at the same time they are peoples who have long since united. And even before the revolution they had begun to unite and join various, so to speak, pacts and calls. And so on.

That's not what I'm talking about at the moment. It is not fortuitous. It is not the case today that it was formed over the last 70 years alone. There were centuries of movement toward it. And the role of the Russian people is great; they took matters under their wing, in hand, as they say; for example, it was the Georgian people who asked to be taken under the wing of the Russian people. It was a very great role and this tells of the vast reserves of internationalism, love for mankind, and humanism of this people. This is what Dostoevskiy talked about, that perhaps the Russian, the Russian heart is perhaps more open than any other to the uniting of mankind. History, centuries have shown that this is so. [applause]

But what happened with the Russian people itself and touched all the nations of our country is not the responsibility of the Russian people but what we came to as a result of the well-known vissicitudes of our history since the Revolution. This must be tossed aside, and there must be no attempts to introduce everything that has happened and that has darkened history, to introduce it as, do you see, a catalyst in interethnic relations in order to sow suspicion and cause clashes between peoples. No, what is most important is that even today we are a large family with all the problems that have accumulated, and I am convinced that we will work it out by taking the road of opening up the potential of the federation. Once again we must make a choice.

We are making one of those choices today. I am convinced, convinced, while remaining committed to the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination, upon which our union was founded, that if we were now to bring about self-determination through separation we would blow the union apart, set the peoples against one another, and sow such dissension...and blood and death. This is the direction in which the separatists are pushing us. [applause] All of them. They exist everywhere. They exist in all the republics. They exist in all the republics and are throwing up this idea.

We have only, you see, begun individual issues connected with language, or with the elections. These are merely individual issues, to be frank about it, though important ones. And look what they have brought us: Strikes, economic losses, clashes, suspicions, and separation have begun.

This is a warning to be reflected on. It all took place on the eve of the Central Committee plenum when we were drawing up our platform, and I am deeply convinced that we shall succeed in filling the federation with new substance and thereby arrive at political and economic sovereignty and give oportunities, free reign, for culture, languages and so on, but cooperating within a single union. It will be a different union, however, and different relations.

Therefore, sweeping aside all these provocative calls, I insist that we must fill the federation with new substance. If we constantly mark time and introduce nothing new this process will once again assume acute forms. Otherwise, we can preserve our union by progressing and filling out our federation.

And now, people want simple solutions. People want calm, people want the situation to change for the better. I have already said more than once and would like to repeat it here at the congress—and thereby to the country as well, since its representatives are here and besides, this is being broadcast: Does anyone really suspect that Gorbachev and the rest of the leadership, the government, Ryzhkov, and the other members of the Soviet leadership do not want things to happen more quickly? But there are no simple solutions. Some are trying to suggest to us that there are simple solutions. Some would like to go back and let things be as before, when everyting was kept in order. We know what things were like before and what that led to.

Others say it is necessary to settle this decisively, and decisively over, so to speak, in the economy and on the consumer market. Let the market solve everything immediately, solve something else there, and so on. All this, you understand, is lack of faith in the strength of socialism, in the power of the people, in their wisdom, in the fact that they weigh things: It is an altogether defeatist attitude, a defeatist attitude. Let the comrades from the intelligentsia not be offended, this does not refer to them, but some say we know that it is intellectualizing where we—the intellegentsia and all those sitting here—are not included. This is not the position of the intelligentsia, but would-be intellectuals. For this reason, comrades, there are no simple decisions; they are difficult decisions.

Now, to be specific. What do we have? We had the first variant which was put forward at the congress. You remember, I also tried to somehow describe it. To continue, there were discussions, and it became clear that there is concern, and it is very serious. The commission worked on it and put forward a compromise variant. What, then, is the essence of this compromise? In this connection I cannot agree with the comrades from the Baltic republics, and other deputies here who spoke, on this compromise. For on the whole we are adopting the law on constitutional control in its entirety, we are forming a committee of constitutional control today, but we, we are introducing it from 1 January, but we make one proviso: that the provisions of the present law—concerning supervision to ensure that the laws of the union republics are in accordance with the Constitution, and that the laws of the USSR are in accordance with the USSR Constitution—should come into force simultaneously with the amendments and addenda of the section of the Constitution on the national-state system. And, not importantly, this exception does not extend to the rights implemented by the committee of constitutional control as regards normative legal acts concerning the basic rights and freedom of citizens.

Now look, now I want—think a little. I don't want to... As you decide, that's how it will be. But think a little. [as heard] So if we adopt this point and reflect it in the law on its introduction, then what does this mean? It means that everything related to this sphere, the union and the republics, will be regulated by Article 74 and Article 119, now in force in the Constitution, where the rights of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet are enshrined. This means that nothing is changed in this sense. This does not mean that we are rejecting all control and all regulation and observance of this process. No, Article 74 remains and the supremacy of the Union law remains. Article 119 remains, and the right of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to observe that things are in accordance with the Constitution remains.

In addition, it is strengthened by the fact that the Committee of Constitutional Supervision already from 1 January 1990 everywhere, throughout the whole country—I felt that the whole Congress—and let anyone speak in front of the people now, and I think that there are already many proposals here to take a roll call vote, and I think that this will probably be necessary. [sentence as heard] So let any of the deputies speak, that he is against the rights of a person of any nationality, no matter where he lives, being observed. So if we adopt everything in this complex, is this really worse? I am asking a question. No! And the whole system begins, and by this, and the whole system operates; and the concerns, at the same time, of a number of republics and deputies from republics which are here are being taken into consideration, because they are anxious that the law-making process should not come to a halt, so to speak.

So I think we are moving forward in a very thorough way. The mechanism is beginning to operate and live which puts in place the living tissue of links with the republics, with all the departments; it does everything. Here actually is how I understand this amendment. But now our situation is such: There is the first variant, the proposal by the commission which it put forward before the debate. That's the first variant. Then there is, and several deputies here returned to it, there is a second variant.

There is a second variant: the commission submits amendments, discussion have been taken into account. And there is a third proposal, if one is to sum up all the various overtones, to the effect that we should not approve it now—or with this theme, that it should be in a first reading, that maybe it could serve as the basis, and that it should be approved as the basis and handed over for further processing, as it were, for discussion in the Supreme Soviet, and subsequently to be approved during the next Congress. Well, actually, I have formulated, maybe crudely and without subtlety, three main positions, as it were, from which you must choose one and one only. But, comrades, let us reach agreement, since the issue is a very serious one. Deputies spoke here, saying that we propose that the first variant should be voted on. And it was submitted as the first. The second variant, incorporating amendments, emerged as a compromise as a result of discussion. It is the second variant. And the third—a number of deputies from the Baltic republics and other deputies brought up this question, that it should be approved either in a first reading or as a basis, subsequently to be handed over for further work in the Supreme Soviet.

That is why—let us discuss, let us discuss what we shall begin from. We can vote on the amendments, as ever. It will then be clear what is to be done with the law. Then we shall vote on whether the amendments are thrown out or accepted and then we shall vote on the law, with or without the amendments.

Well, I would like to see us all agree, for it is a fundamental question, Comrade Kogan. Comrade Kogan, when an amendment is put forward it pertains to the draft that has been submitted as the main one. And when we vote on amendments, we determine...when we have decided it we will then decide the question about the law as a whole. This does not change, you know. We act this

way all the time. You agree, comrades? That's in the first place. In the second place, there have been many written notes to the effect that in view of the fundamental nature of the question, voting on it should be by name, by name. I put it to the vote. [session continues with voting procedures]

Constitutional Compliance Committee Chief Named

LD2312113189 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today the Congress of USSR People's Deputies elected Sergey Alekseyev, 65, lawyer and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to be the chairman of the country's Committee on Constitutional Compliance.

He became widely known of late as chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Legislation.

Alekseyev was born in the city of Oryol, European Russia. As a soldier he took part in combat operations during the Second World War. After graduating from the Sverdlovsk Law Institute (Urals), he engaged in teaching and research activities.

The deputies point out a great personal contribution by Alekseyev to the work on bills that are meant to open the way for radical changes in economic relations and social life in the country: on property, land, and leasing arrangements. His high professionalism, competence and impartiality are generally recognised.

This found reflection in the results of today's voting: 1,644 deputies voted for his candidacy, 42 voted against and 47 abstained.

Professor Boris Lazarev, 59, was elected by the congress as deputy chairman of the USSR Committee of Constitutional Compliance.

A graduate of Moscow University, Lazarev has linked practically all his mature life with the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the State and Law.

The congress instructed the USSR Supreme Soviet to elect 25 members of the committee.

It is for the first time that the Committee of Constitutional Compliance is being established in the Soviet Union on the basis of the Constitutional Compliance Law adopted today.

Gorbachev Announces Pact Consultation on Romania

AU2312143389 Paris AFP in English 1352 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, Dec 23 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told parliament here Saturday that Moscow is in contact with other Warsaw Pact countries to see what sort of support can be given to the Romanian people.

"We have established contacts with other countries who are members of the Warsaw Pact to coordinate mutual actions in order to provide aid to the Romanian people," he said, according to a journalist at parliament.

Political & Social

Text of CPSU Plenum Decision on Lithuania

LD2612153989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Text of CPSU Central Committee Decision: On Questions Connected With the Decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Dec (TASS)—Following is the text of the decision by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted today at an extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

1. To fully approve the evaluations and conclusions contained in the plenum report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expresses the conviction that communists and working people of the republic will interpret with understanding the CPSU Central Committee's concern at the situation that has arisen within the Lithuanian Communist Party.

2. The plenum considers it necessary to convey the evaluations and conclusions of the report by M.S. Gorbachev to all members of the CPSU and the broad masses of the country's working people and for members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, first secretaries of the Central Committees of union republic Communist Parties, of party kraykoms and obkoms, and the entire party aktiv to take part in political work on plenum materials.

3. To consider it necessary for a group of participants in the plenum consisting of members and candidate members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee to go to Lithuania to hold meetings with the republic's communists and the party organizations and labor collectives of the republic.

The plenum also considers it advisable for M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to travel to Lithuania.

4. After this work has been carried out, to resume the session of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and adopt the appropriate decisions.

PRAVDA Carries Plenum Information Report

PM2612203189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

["Information Report on Plenum of CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The discussion of questions connected with the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress continued 26 December at the Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A. Medvedev spoke for the commission to draft a plenum resolution.

The plenum was addressed by:

- V.A. Koptyug—vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Siberian Department;
- Yu.A. Prokofyev—first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee [gorkom];
- V.N. Shved—secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party's interim Central Committee (for the CPSU platform), first secretary of Vilnius City's Oktyabrskiy Rayon Committee [raykom] of the party;
- Yu.Yu. Kuolyalis—secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party's interim Central Committee (for the CPSU platform), adviser to the Presidium of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet;
- R.N. Nishanov—chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities;
- G.P. Bogomyakov—first secretary of Tyumen CPSU Obkom;
- B.A. Zaykauskas—former secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
- V.M. Nikiforov—USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs;
- S.A. Gedraytis—former secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
- Ye.Ye. Sokolov—first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee;
- A.A. Dzharimov—first secretary of Adygey CPSU Obkom, Krasnodar Kray;
- V.S. Astrauskas—chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;
- V.V. Karpov—first secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union;
- B.K. Pugo—chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee;
- B.N. Yeltsin—chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Construction and Architecture Committee;
- Ye.I. Sizenko—first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR];
- V.I. Mironenko—first secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League;
- G.V. Novozhilov—general designer at Moscow's S.V. Ilyushin Machine Building Plant;
- V.G. Zakharov—deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers;
- Ya.P. Pogrebnyak—first secretary of Lvov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom;
- M.A. Ulyanov—chairman of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers;
- V.M. Mishin—secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions;
- N.K. Zadoya—first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom;
- A.M. Fateyev—second secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom;
- T.G. Ivanova—deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

On the question discussed, the plenum adopted a resolution which is published in the press.

In conclusion, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

Officials Discuss CPSU CC Plenum Issues

Lithuania's Brazauskas

LD2612195789 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Interview with Lithuanian First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas by Benas Rupeika; held in Moscow on 26 December following the 2-day CPSU Central Committee plenum held to discuss Lithuania—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Brazauskas] The plenum concluded half an hour ago. Everyone left the hall. Probably, everyone is interested in what decisions were made.

[Rupeika] Yes, of course.

[Brazauskas] Various proposals were made, among those there were extreme ones as well as mild ones. It's probably impossible to name them all. What's more, it would not be easy because there were more than 40 people who spoke, and each of them had one or more proposals. However, everybody is probably interested in what the final decision was. The final decision is this: To support Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, which he made yesterday at the plenum; then a considerable group of Politburo and Central Committee members will visit Lithuania and, of course, first of all, Comrade Gorbachev will head this group. This group will meet the people of Lithuania, first of all, members of the Lithuanian Communist Party; they will listen and discuss things.

Well, I imagined that the point that it was not the right time to split would be raised, and given very serious argumentation, that such decisions as the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party should not have been adopted.

[Rupeika] This virtually means that there will be yet another congress in succession.

[Brazauskas] Well, I do not know how this all is going to be organized and what Comrade Gorbachev's desire concerning this will be, nor do I know when all this will take place. Today, I am not able to answer these questions. However, to my mind, a meeting of this kind is a very good idea. Because while using these sources [not further specified], both Comrade Gorbachev and we, as representatives only, as the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, doubts were raised by many people. [sentence as heard] Does the majority of Lithuanian Communists indeed hold this point of view? Has this point of view been consciously formed? Is this decision indeed indispensible today that the Lithuanian Communist Party should at this moment become independent? I hope many other questions which were raised at the plenum will be answered in Lithuania.

[Rupeika] In brief, one can assume that some members of the plenum sincerely doubted what you said and doubted the decisions adopted by the congress.

[Brazauskas] Well, perhaps you are right. But then everyone would, especially if one is not informed well enough about the actual situation in our republic, about the moods of the people; and the reasons for these moods. Of course, they see only the bare facts, which were presented by the press or in some other documents, which Central Committee members were given.

[Rupeika] Delivered especially for what purpose?

[Brazauskas] Well, I don't know; I can't confirm this.

[Rupeika] Or perhaps facts from speeches made by some members of the Lithuanian delegation or representatives from Lithuania.

[Brazauskas] Of course, from speeches of individual representatives from Lithuania who took part in the discussion. No doubt, the direct impression would be the best way, and I support Comrade Gorbachev's proposed decision which was adopted by the plenum and by the Central Committee members. I think this is much better, undoubtedly much better than adopting some categorical decision.

[Rupeika] I would like to remind you that you yourself said that organizational solutions were impossible. It is a pleasure that you are the first to say once again that Mikhail Gorbachev remained a politician who is standing above the narrow party positions.

[Brazauskas] This is indeed so. His proposal is, to my mind, a very good compromise in a situation which had already developed by the end of the plenum; because speeches containing sharp statements, speeches which were controversial, some supporting us, others failing to understand us, were made.

Of course, it would have been impossible to summarize the results after such speeches into a statement and to have written down into one document or a paragraph on a decision. In fact, these processes are very complex; not many can imagine what Lithuania is aspiring for, what the people of Lithuania and members of the Lithuanian Communist Party are cherishing, and if this opinion is the opinion of the majority. It is clear that everyone is greatly concerned, and I understand Comrade Gorbachev very well, too, because the step taken by us can become the starting point for possible complex decisions which may have very unpleasant consequences.

[Rupeika] You said this was an evolution which could not be stopped. But Comrade Gorbachev's position is that it split, and, thus, is the main disagreement between you.

[Brazauskas] I would not say that this is only Comrade Gorbachev's position. This position was voiced by many of the speakers from the Central Committee. Now it would be difficult to name all of them who spoke and who said what.

[Rupeika] Then could you perhaps mention today at least those who spoke in favor or at least showed tolerance toward us? Representatives from Lithuania, too.

[Brazauskas] Well, Comrade Astrauskas spoke and Comrade Zaikauskas' speech was good. I absolutely agree with them and support them. The USSR people's artist Ulyanov's speech was very good; he spoke like a mature politician who sees the phenomenon taking place in our republic, the decisions which were not made narrowly, he regards these events as a result of complex events of the restructuring. He said that these processes taking place in the Soviet Union should be viewed from a wider angle; he also supported Comrade Gorbachev who also spoke today.

After these two days of very difficult discussions, the two days like I have never experienced, I must admit....

[Rupeika] Yes, Lithuania recognizes this in the tone of your voice.

[Brazauskas] I have not experienced anything like this before. Well this decision is the best that could have been achieved or offered.

[Rupeika] Take a rest now and I will tell you what happened in Lithuania in the meantime. You could not have heard in the Kremlin what was going on at home.

At the moment, I think a huge rally is still going on in Vilnius on the Cathedral square. Now it is 1350 in Lithuania, lunchtime. This morning the workers of Banga amalgamation stopped work for five minutes in Kaunas, just five minutes. This morning 2,500 telegrams were sent to the Kremlin; this information was given to me by the Ministry of Communications. Perhaps you did not have a chance yet to see the telegrams addressed to you; there are even poems written to you. You will see them on the plane flying back home. Voices are heard here that a rally in support of the Lithuanian Communists could be held in Moscow. I have not yet gotten the exact information but I heard that this is going on.

[Brazauskas] [passage omitted in which thanks are expressed for support] I say that this is a decision; it is, in a way, a search for understanding of the real situation which currently has developed in Lithuania. A decision adopted here in a center without knowing what the aspirations of the people in Lithuania are could be erroneous, and, therefore, would not be understood. [passage omitted of more thanks for support]

Estonia's Ryutel'

LD2612233389 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Interview with Arnol'd Ryutel', chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, by unidentified correspondent following the CPSU Central Committee plenum; on 26 December, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage indistinct] [Correspondent] Missing from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech was the question of 1939 and 1940. Did this problem arise in the course of the plenum?

[Ryutel'] Very briefly. It was mentioned by Vaino Valjas. A couple of times it also very briefly ran through [words indistinct], but generally, this was very little talked about, even though—as the question indeed stands—quite a number of political situations are connected with this, namely with providing a correct assessment to this.

[Correspondent] And so quite a few of the main Baltic subjects went in Moscow without being dealt with. [passage omitted]

Medvedev, Gorbachev

LD2612143489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Comrades, you are already aware that a CPSU Central Committee extraordinary plenum opened in Moscow yesterday and that matters connected with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania were submitted for consideration. Yesterday Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented a report to the plenum, and we have just received another report on the plenum. On 26 December debates on the matters connected with the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania's decisions continued at the CPSU Central Commtitee extraordinary plenum. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke on the commission's behalf to work out a draft plenum resolution. After yesterday and today's debates a resolution was adopted which the press is to publish. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the plenum's conclusion.

Medvedev Discusses CPSU Plenum at News Conference

LD2612173589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1405 GMT 26 Dec 89

[News conference by Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; and Andrey Nikolayevich Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, in Moscow on 26 December at the conclusion of the 25-26 December CPSU Central Committee plenum—live]

[Text] [Unidentified moderator] Comrades, ladies, and gentlemen, we are beginning the news conference on the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Taking part in the news conference are Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; and Andrey Nikolayevich Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary. Vadim Andreyevich, please, you have the floor.

[Medvedev] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades. Today the party Central Committee plenum, which was discussing matters related to the decision of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, continued its work. There was a speech on behalf of the drafting commission, my speech.

Twenty-six speakers spoke today at the plenum, including Koptyug, Academy of Sciences vice president; Prokofyev, party's Moscow City Committee first secretary; Shved, Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon committee of the city of Vilnius; Kuolyalis, Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee secretary; Nishanov, USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities chairman; Bogomyakov, Tyumen Oblast party committee [obkom] first secretary; Zaykauskas, former Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; Nikiforov, foreign affairs deputy minister; Gedraytis, former Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; Sokolov, Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Dzharimov, Adygey obkom first secretary; Astrauskas, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; Karpov, USSR Union of Writers board first secretary; Pugo, chairman of the party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee; Yeltsin, Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Construction and Architecture chairman; Sizenko, chairman Russian Federation Council of Ministers first deputy; Mironenko, All-Union Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; Novozhilov, general designer of the Moscow Ilyushin Machine-Building Works; Zakharov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers deputy chairman; Pogrebnyak, Lvov Obkom first secretary; Ulyanov, RSFSR Union of Theater Workers chairman of the board; Mishin, All-Union Central Council of Trade

Unions secretary; Zadoya, Ukrainian Communist Party Dnepropetrovsk Oblast committee first secretary; Fateyev, Leningrad Oblast Party Committee second secretary; and Ivanova, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman [title as heard; Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 26 December carries a report listing the speakers which gives Ivanova's title as Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet deputy chairman]. In all, 46 speakers spoke over the 2 days of the plenum.

The Comrade Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum has been published, and this frees me of the need to reproduce the political appraisals and conclusions concerning the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party; the analysis of events which led to this congress; a description of those problems which are connected with the congress and connected with out restructuring work, including restructuring of the party; and other matters which are detailed in the report by Comrade Gorbachev.

I can only say that the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] Congress decisions have created an unusual situation for our party, the essence of which lies in the following:

The republic's Communist Party Congress convened on the basis of the CPSU rules, on the strength of the CPSU rules, and at the same time declared the republic's Communist Party as being a party on its own and independent of the CPSU.

Lithuanian Communists have been declared, essentially, members of a new party, irrespective of what position they adopt on this question themselves and what opinions they share.

As you know, the situation is characterized by the fact that, during the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress' work, a group of delegates of that congress, composed of 144 people who did not agree with the decision adopted, held their own conference outside the framework of the Lithuanian Congress and formed a temporary Lithuanian CP Central Committee, taking the stance of membership in the CPSU, and composed of 58 people.

Well, that situation has created an unusual situation in our party. It has given rise to a stormy reaction in party organizations not only of Lithuania, not only of the Baltic, but in our entire party. The CPSU Central Committee has literally begun to receive thousands of letters giving one opinion or judgement or another on that question. In the main, the opinions are negative, negatively assessing the events which have taken place.

The Central Committee reacted to the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress, as you know by calling urgently a plenum of the party Central Committee which has worked for two days.

A very open, heated, and interested discussion took place on the questions evoked by these events, by the situation created by the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress in the course of the discussion, Lithuanian comrades themselves also spoke, all five secretaries of the former Lithuanian CP Central Committee which was operational before the 20th congress; two secretaries of the temporary Central Committee, which was created by the alternative section of the delegates; and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. In the course of the debates, the majority of party Central Committee first secretaries of other union republics spoke. I counted seven secretaries, but there may be some amplification here, including Estonian and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretaries, a number of politburo members, kray party committee and obkom first secretaries, and other comrades participating in the party Central Committee plenum.

What can be said about the discussions which took place?

I must say that those who spoke during debates agreed on one thing—and first and foremost on one thing—which was the significance, the appraisal of the significance of the question under discussion, the significance of which is determined not only by the fact that it is a question of one of the republican party organizations' fate, the fate of one of the major CPSU detachments, but it is also determined by the fact that this is a general political question concerning the party as a whole, a question which also has implications for other problems of our country's development, for problems of interethnic relations and the national state system; for problems of economic independence and economic and political reform. In essence it concerns fundamental questions of thet restructuring revolutionary process which has been developing in our country in recent years. I would say that those who delivered speeches were, I can say, also unanimous on another question—in appraising Comrade Gorbachev's report. If I say anything inaccurate then my colleagues will correct me, but I did not hear a single speech in which there might be an expression of disagreement with the appraisals and conclusions in Comrade Gorbachev's speech.

[Unidentified speaker] Not a single one.

[Medvedev] In essence, everybody was in agreement on this, including the speeches of our Lithuanian colleagues who gave some kind of explanations, but who as a whole also reacted positively to what was said by Comrade Gorbachev, both in tone and in formulation of the question. To talk further and to develop this subject on what else was common to and characteristic of the debates at the plenum, of the speeches by the participants, then in the absolute majority of cases it was the critical appraisal of the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress concerning turning the organization of Lithuanian Communists into an independent communist party with its own program and statutes.

The majority of speeches analyzed these decisions and the conclusion was an overwhelming one, to the effect that these really are decisions that go beyond the competence of the Republican Communist Party as a component part of the CPSU. After all the republic's Communist Party Congress met as a CPSU congress, in accordance with the CPSU's rules, but the CPSU rules do not provide for the right to decide on seperation into an independent communist party. All the more illegitimate is for any party bodies to decide on behalf of Communists, party members, to which party they should belong. This is a matter for each communist and only he can decide it. No one can decide it for him.

In the vast majority of cases there was also agreement on the fact that these are blows to restructuring and to the party as the force that both originated restructuring and is providing the guarantee of further deepening and developing it. It is a blow to the unity, the internationalist unity, of the party. This decision could, undoubtedly, have negative consequences for the problem of the nation-state structure, too, in as much as the declaration of the Lithuanian CP as an independent party removes the main barrier in the way of the separatist and isolationist aspirations at work in the republic.

There was also animated discussion of the possible measures and ways out of the situation that has developed. On this, I would say that there was a greater divergence of opinions. Even before the plenum, during, one could say, the preliminary exchanges of opinion, this divergence of points of view had, to a certain extent, become evident. It also emerged at the plenum itself and went from a kind of overall political assessment on the ill-thought-out and incorrect nature of the decision to the most bitter, so to speak, party and administrative, I would say, measures.

Proposals were made to revoke the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress decisions as contradictory to party rules and going beyond the competence of a republican communist party and to recognize [corrects himself] or rather, not to recognize their legitimacy. Proposals of this kind were given fairly serious and weighty reasoning, supported by party rules. Proposals were made to condemn the leadership's position and even to expel the Lithuanian CP leaders for this position, a position, so to speak, of deviation from the CPSU's principles and rules—to expel them from the party, from the ranks of the CPSU. There were proposals like this and I cannot, of course, conceal this from you. Indeed, there would be no point in doing so.

At the same time, many of those who made speeches at the plenum spoke of the need to take the real situation into account and to adopt considered decisions which would include a precise and principled assessment of what has happened but, in doing so, would not cut off the way toward normalizing the situation and finding some kind of way out of the situation—perhaps even a compromise—taking into account the actual mood and the real situation in this Baltic republic and the breadth of support that these questioned proposals have met with in the republic's party organizations and among the delegates to the 20th Congress.

The speeches analyzed the processes that have led to the present crisis in the Republic's Communist Party.

Critical remarks were levelled at the leaders who had brought about this process, critical remarks for their conciliatory attitude to sentiments of separatism and isolationism in the republic, for a certain departure from the norms laid down in the party rules, and for not reacting in good time to specific new phenomena in the life of the republic's Communist Party. At the same time, there were also statements to the effect that the republic's CP has its positive revolutionary traditions and that it has a certain experience of restructuring. Critical remarks were also levelled at the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo, and in particular, over the fact that, in the view of a number of speakers, certain processes should have been noticed and assessed more sharply at earlier stages and decisions adopted on them.

Admittedly, it must be said that in a number of speeches, including those by Central Committee secretaries, the Central Committee plenum participants were given fairly detailed information about the enormous and constant work that had been done in the CPSU Central Committee on the Baltic front, so to speak, about the large number of meetings and joint discussions with the republic's CP Central Committee leadership, the adopted documents and appeals by the leadership to the Lithuanian Communists.

But evidently, the critical remarks on this also contain a certain element of truth, and they should undoubtedly not go unheeded. A number of speeches raised the question of party unity in a broader context. It was proposed that there should be more exactingness toward communists for their ideological stance, for the fact that, while remaining in the party, individual communists at the same time take part in the activities of other organizations, including ones that adhere to different ideological and political standpoints.

Finally, in many cases it was said that we need to advance along the road of restructuring more swiftly and decisively and not to permit any lagging and that many negative processes and sentiments could be avoided if questions to do with restructuring were tackled more swiftly, decisively and efficiently—I refer to matters concerning the national state system, concerning changes in the operating methods of the party itself, the democratization of the party, and the creation of more up-to-date party structures. It was said that all these matters, including questions to do with ideological work and the activities of the news media—which were also the subject of serious discussion at the plenum, with judgments being expressed on these matters—that all these problems must be tackled more actively and that one must be more robust in following the path of restrucuturing

processes. That is the principal way to tackle all problems, including interethnic problems.

So, what was the result of the work of the Central Committee Plenum? I should say that the Plenum did not complete its discussion of the issue on the agenda. It was decided to reconvene the sitting of the Central Committee plenum after some time and adopt the appropriate decisions then.

The plenum fully and unanimously approved the assessments and conclusions contained in the report by Comrade Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The plenum expressed the certainty that the republic's communists and working people would interpret with understanding the concern of the CPSU Central Committee over the situation that has arisen in the Lithuanian CP. In its decision the plenum deemed it necessary to convey the assessments and conclusions of Comrade Gorbachev's report to all CPSU members and wide masses of the country's working people.

It was recommended that members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, first secretaries of the communist parties of the union republics and obkoms and kray party committees, and the entire party aktiv participate in political work on the materials of the plenum.

The plenum deemed it necessary for a group of plenum participants, made up of members and candidate members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, to go to Lithuania to hold meetings with the republic's communists, party organizations and labor collectives.

It was considered expedient for Comrade Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, to visit Lithuania.

It is precisely after this work is carried out that it is intended to resume the sitting of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and then arrive at the appropriate decisions on this account.

This is what I thought I should report to you by way of information and some comment on the work of the party Central Committee Plenum.

[Unidentified speaker] Yuriy Petrovich, [words indistinct] (?don't go). You will not [words indistinct].

[Unidentified speaker] Andrey Nikolayevich, (?we are bound to get) questions.

[Gerasimov] Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, we will now go over to questions.

[Unidentified MASAVAAR I LEVIT correspondent] The magazine MASAVAAR I LEVIT. Vadim Andreyevich, the Supreme Soviets of the Baltic republics issued laws and decrees which were in violation of the Constitution of the Soviet Union. Although the USSR Supreme Soviet pointed to the unconstitutional nature of these laws, they are operational. Although the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union demanded that these laws be changed, not only in the Baltic republics, but also in others, nothing has come of it to date. Won't there be a recurrence of that since today's plenum did not adopt relevant measures to eliminate such a situation which has arisen in Lithuania, and won't it turn out that the communists of Lithuania will insist upon their decision. What will happen in those cases?

[Medvedev] As far as the state laws are concerned which certain legislative acts of the Supreme Soviets of the union republics, then, I have to say that these state laws are in force, and are in force on the entire territory of the Soviet state. As you have presumably grasped from the information about the Central Committee plenum, the decisions which would assess the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress have not yet been given. That will be done after, well, after trips to the republic by members of the Politburo, Central Committees secretaries and members of the Central Committee, and other party personnel and activists. I think that the purpose of the trip lies in explaining our position toward the decision of the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress and, at the same time, in gaining a better understanding of the situation which exists in the republic's communist party in order to adopt such decisions which would both be fundamentally true and meet the statutory norms of our party but which at the same time, would take account of the real situation in the republic. That is, so that they might be completely and practically implemented. That is what is meant, so that we do not adopt such decisions which would just be empty sounds not backed by any actions. That is what must be avoided. Such decisions must be adopted which would really allow us to find a way out of the situation which has arisen.

[Unidentified WASHINGTON POST correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] Perhaps it would be better in English. WASHINGTON POST. In the speech of Mr Gorbachev, at one stage, he pointed out that it might be necessary to take measures against separatist groups or a group supporting separation. I think that he meant Sajudis, in this respect. What measures did he have in mind and did he mean that Sajudis would be outlawed? The second question consists of the following: To what extent is the Central Committee prepared to go to prevent the potential break or departure of this republic, its leaving of the Soviet Union? I think that it's an open secret if I say that the peoples, in the Soviet Union and abroad, think that Moscow will even be ready to use force in the event of such a situation arising.

[Medvedev] It is true, the report of Comrade Gorbachev says that presumably the adoption, through the Supreme Soviet, through state bodies, of measures which would include the necessary means for overcoming separatist movements and attitudes toward them should also be

considered. However, unlike you, I will not get specific on this question and name particular organizations which are being discussed here. There are many organizations, equally in the Baltic republics and in others, which are adopting extreme separatist tendencies, uh, positions—positions for whipping up national dissention. I would not name any specific organization, in particular, including Sajudis. That is a question which calls for deliberation both as far as the adoption of the measures themselves and as far as their application is concerned by one organization or another. The norms of a law-governed state should be strictly observed in both the former and the latter sense.

As for the second question, there is also a statement on this in the report of Comrade Gorbachev, the sense of which lies in the fact that the Soviet, party, political, and state leadership will take the necessary measures to prevent our union from disintegrating. It is a question, naturally, of political measures. Both in this case, in questions connected with the Congress of the Lithuanian CP, and in other instances, we favor political methods of resolving all problems, including the problems of preserving and strengthening union relations between our republics.

[Unidentified ANSA correspondent] ANSA, Italy: Vladimir Aleksandrovich, be so kind.... [changes thought] Could you not concretely name those people, those members of the Central Committee, who put forward the proposal to exclude Lithuanian Communists from the party ranks, and another specific question, did the Congress of the Lithuanian CP decide to give back party cards or not, that is, are Lithuanian communists remaining—have they decided to remain—within the ranks of the party or not? Thank you.

[Medvedev] I want to refrain from naming the surnames of speakers who put forward such harsh measures toward leaders of Lithuanian communists, of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. I have refrained because I do not have the authority to do this. A report has been published and on this there was a decision and agreement on the part of members of the party Central Committee. As far as speeches at the debates are concerned, there is no decision to publish them, and naturally I do not have either the formal or moral right to divulge such important details. It is a matter for those speakers who delivered speeches at the plenum.

Discussions Continue in Lithuania on Party Future

LD2612220289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Excerpts] TASS correspondents report from Vilnius: Discussions on the ways along which the Lithuanian Communist Party is to develop further are continuing after the completion on Saturday of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. The struggle of ideas did not end at the congress. The interested discussions by Lithuanian communists of the report by Mikhail Gorbachev at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum bear witness to this.

Not all members of the party in the republic think that the decision of the party congress is well-considered. [passage omitted]

Communists of Vilnius enterprises supporting the CPSU platform say that the decisions of the 20th congress are not competent [nepravomochniy]. [passage omitted]

Today in Vilnius there was a rally in support of the decision of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress; the rally participants once again came out in favor of the independent status of the republic's communist party. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Congress Leaves Issues Unresolved

PM2612225589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Wake of 20th Congress of Lithuanian Communist Party: Questions Remain"]

[Text] Vilnius, 26 Dec—Even after the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party ended Saturday [23 December], the debate continues on the path along which the Lithuanian Communist Party should develop in the future. The clash of ideas did not end with the congress. This is also borne out by the keen discussion of M.S. Gorbachev's report to the CPSU Central Committee plenum among Lithuanian Communists.

Not all the party members in the republic regard the decision of the party congress as well considered. For instance, delegate S. Yuonene, who is a member of the interim Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee which adheres to the CPSU platform, has said in an interview to a TASS correspondent that an "autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party cannot call itself a party of Communists." According to her, the program and statutes of this party "testify to a break with the ideological and political principles of a Marxist-Leninist party."

As an argument S. Yuonene cited also the composition of the autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party's new Central Committee Bureau, which includes many leaders of the Sajudis movement. She explained that it is well known in the republic that the ideas about breaking the unity with the CPSU and the republic's secession from the USSR are precisely theirs. "I fully agree with the concern voiced in M.S. Gorbachev's report that the gains of the Lithuanian people won in a long and difficult struggle are in jeopardy today," Yuonene said.

Communists at Vilnius enterprises who adhere to the CPSU platform have declared the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to be incompetent. A. Golozov, member of the interim Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee which was established at the party conference held as an alternative to

the congress, who works as party committee secretary at the Vilnius radio-measurement instruments plant, recalled that delegates to the forum of Lithuanian Communists were elected in accordance with the CPSU Statutes. The question to which party he should belong must be decided by every CPSU member himself. "The majority of Communists at our plant," he stressed, "favors unity with the CPSU and is opposed to any attempts to split its ranks. I understand and appreciate M.S. Gorbachev's words at the Central Committee plenum that agreeing to the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress means aggravating the split, and alienating those Communists who are sincerely committed to socialist ideals and the aims of perestroyka, and who, even after voting in favor of the congress decisions, continue to agonize over the correctness of the step they have taken."

On the other hand, Yu. Pozhela, delegate of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress and president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, after noting the constructive spirit of M.S. Gorbachev's report to the Central Committee plenum, believes that the political reform of the CPSU must follow the path of the creation of autonomous communist parties.

A rally in support of the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress was held in Vilnius today. Its participants again expressed themselves in favor of the autonomous status of the republic's Communist Party.

Cables addressed to the interim Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, which adheres to the CPSU platform, continue to arrive, expressing Communists' alarm at the split which has occurred in the party and voicing concern at the polarizaton of the Communists' ideological platform.

Split in Lithuanian Communist Party Reported

PM2612181189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Colonel V. Gavrilenko report: "Lithuania: The Lines Are Drawn"]

[Text] The congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party has ended. I have studied the delegates' faces more than once. They reflected feelings ranging from triumph (we now have a separate party!) to dismay (what have we done!).

After everything connected with the split from the CPSU was decided, the sessions took on a relaxed, even cheerful tone. The people chairing the sessions permitted themselves humorous asides, and speakers indulged in jokes and witticisms at times.

But who made this decision? The congress delegates included only 18 workers and five representatives of the peasantry. The following explanation for this was given: In recent months, it was claimed, the intelligentsia has played the most active part in sociopolitical life, and this is the result. Frankly speaking, it seemed to me that rather than being in the corridors of a party congress I was attending a plenum of one of the numerous creative unions. The victors congratulated each other on their success. However, the fruits of this success will settle as a heavy burden on the shoulders of those whose representation at the congress was negligible. The party has broken away, proclaiming the creation of an independent Lithuanian state as its goal. However, no one in Lithuania knows exactly how this idea is to be implemented, on what economic basis, and what it will mean for the rank-and-file working person.

The congress hastily discussed the status of the new party and its program. It seems that here, too, not everything is as clear as the delegates would have it. Furthermore, certain changes might be in the offing. There were calls for such changes at the congress.

The early reelection, on the 3d day of the congress, of Algirdas Brazauskas, as first secretary came as a surprise, too. A news conference which he gave in the evening of the same day threw light on this. The essence of most of the questions he was asked boiled down to: What was Moscow's attitude to the withdrawal of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the CPSU? Brazauskas replied that he had talked to M.S. Gorbachev on the telephone. Mikhail Sergeyevich expressed serious concern at what had happened and stressed that this may have a negative impact on the unity of the ranks of the country's Communists Brazauskas went on to say that it appears that a CPSU Central Committee plenum will be held in the next few days and that he will be invited to attend it. So it was no accident that the congress hastened to bestow on him the powers of secretary of the splinter party.

"It is difficult to anticipate the plenum decisions," Brazauskas told journalists. "As a superior party organ it may try to revoke our decision. However, I do not believe that this will happen. After all, it has to be borne in mind that it was not Brazauskas alone who did this, but that the entire party expressed its will in democratic fashion."

It is true that the party separated in accordance with the will of the majority of the congress delegates. However, those who did not accept this separation are no less determined. In parallel with the congress, immediately after the formation of the Communist Party of Lithuania, a conference of Communists who regard their allegiance to the CPSU as unshakable was held. It took place on a confident and optimistic, rather than a doleful, note. A fellow journalist at the conference press center said jokingly: "This situation reminds me of bees. A large swarm has left, but the hive remains." Yes, the hive remains. I have read some of the cables sent to the alternative conference from various parts of the republic. I can vouch: The congress delegates who are firmly in favor of the Lithuanian Comunist Party remaining within the CPSU have not a few supporters.

The conference, which ended Friday evening, adopted a resolution which proclaims that the party of Lithuanian Communists which continues to regard itself as a part of the CPSU remains in existence. An address to the CPSU Central Committee, all Lithuanian Communists, and the republic's young people was adopted. A credentials commission was elected. A secretariat composed of Comrades M. Burokyavichus, V. Kardamavichus, Yu. Kuolyalis, and V. Shved, 20th Congress delegates, was elected for the purpose of coordinating actions and the solution of organizational questions. In addition, representatives to the CPSU Central Committee plenum were elected. So that Algirdas Brazauskas will not be alone there....

Brazauskas Gives TV Speech on Politburo Meeting

90UN0386E Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 Nov 89 p 1

[Report on speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania, on Lithuanian television on 17 November]

[Text] As was already reported, on 16 November at the regular meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee information was heard from the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas concerning the work of the republic party organizations for carrying out the tasks of restructuring. All members and candidate members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania participated in the meeting.

On 17 November the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas, discussed the meeting of the Politburo on Lithuanian television. Below is the text of his speech:

We, the entire Central Committee Bureau, returned from Moscow late yesterday evening. As you know, there was a meeting there of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee in which we participated. This was the first occasion when all members of the bureau have participated in such a meeting. We had prepared for this meeting, understood its importance, and were aware of our responsibility.

The main reason for our trip to Moscow was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania set for 19 December. This was the basic question: Why is there a need to convene a congress? We had to explain and answer why in detail and with good argumentation.

In the first place, the Communist Party of Lithuania must clearly and unequivocally state its views regarding the repressive measures of Stalinism and other mistakes made before the war and during the postwar period and evaluate these events which, I must say, were very painful for Lithuania.

In the second place, life today dictates that we must renew the personnel of the Central Committee; it should include new people who have already proved themselves during the course of perestroyka. This is a reality and a necessity today.

In the third place, we must evaluate and determine the position the Communist Party of Lithuania should occupy in our political life of today and the political system of the republic, that is, we should strengthen the independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

There was a lot of discussion and we presented our arguments. Possibly at first they were not completely understood, but after several hours of discussion we saw and became convinced that the members of the Politburo, having heard our arguments, understood this need. The Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania will take place and one of the meeting's decisions was that the congress would be supported. Of course the congress is immensely significant. There has never before been this kind of extraordinary congress in any republic and, therefore, the preparations for it, the preparation of the documents, and, of course the decisions it will make will determine our future life. I will even say that they will determine the future of the republic.

Returning to the independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania, I wish to say that the Politburo reached a conclusion and agreed with our reasoning that in modern life, in the current stage of perestroyka, independence is a logical step. But a question arose which resulted in our having to hear remarks and explain that today we have not yet decided what ties will be established between the independent Communist Party of Lithuania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Indeed, this is the way it is. Today we do not yet have a firm conviction of what these ties should be or what they will be. Of course this does not depend on the decisions of our congress alone, but to no small degree on the steps of perestroyka in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the documents that will be prepared for its regular congress, which will be held in the autumn of next year. And on whether the steps will be effective and how far they will take us toward resolving the complex issue of the party structure. Of course granting independence to the Communist Party of Lithuania is a fact, but the determination of relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other parties is a process which is dictated by perestroyka itself; it is dictated, I would say, by the attitude of the people. Not just the restructuring of political life but the entire complex of other factors as well.

Although the conversation, which lasted many hours and in which quite a few members of the Politburo participated, was not easy and we had to listen to many bitter words about the general political situation in Lithuania, I emphasize that a considerable number of the members of our bureau expressed their opinion and explained the situation in the republic. We noted that we were by no means describing it as especially critical but, of course, it

was not simple. The conversation that took place should not be regarded as a moral lesson or an explanation to us. It was an absolutely free dialogue, anyone who wished to could speak, and the speeches of my colleagues were free, responsible and, in my opinion, quite convincing.

We came to the conclusion that the ideas of socialism as we now understand them were ideas we had in common and they unite us. But the paths or tactics for realizing them can vary a great deal in each republic. Of course, our path to our main goal, sovereignty for Lithuania, has its own specific character. This, in my opinion, is clear. It seems that the members of the Politburo understood this as well.

At the same time we raised a number of questions and problems from our daily life. These were questions of an economic nature related to providing the population with the basic goods and food products. We explained our problems and expressed our wish that the union government would solve these problems. Equally timely and important for us is the problem of providing agricultural production with construction materials and all other resources necessary for normal production.

We insistently reminded them that up to this point we have not resolved the problem of the republic's economic independence. Although the session of the Supreme Soviet is coming to an end, no law has been adopted yet. The session will last a week and we hope that this draft law will be discussed.

There were fairly good responses concerning our republic's life, its people, and our achievements in the sphere of production and the area of culture. This was nice since several members of the Politburo had visited Lithuania and seen our area and they shared these recollections with us.

Comrade M. Gorbachev when ending the meeting of the Politburo said that he believes in the republic leadership and believes that the republic will live in peace and work as it has up to this point. And it will always be among the most active participants in perestroyka.

New Lithuanian Secretaries Hold Press Conference

LD2312172289 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Yesterday (?saw a battle on the) foreign languages. The press center has become somewhat deserted today. Many foreign mass media reporters have found themselves with the news about the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the election of the first secretary yesterday's press conference given by the newly elected Central Committee secretaries, Justas Paleckis and Kestutis Glaveckas, gathered quite a lot of journalists.

In his opening address, the Secretary for Issues of Culture, Domestic and foreign Policy, Justas Paleckis, said he expected a more serious split in the party. It is gratifying to note, he said, that the 135 delegates, mostly non-Lithuanians, are in favor to stay within the united ranks of the Soviet Communist Party did not meet any definite approval [as heard].

Justas Paleckis urged to completely break away from them by reminding that they were building Lithuanian but not Lithuanian Communist Party. A rocky road of implementing the proclaimed independence is ahead of us, he said. There are progressive forces in Moscow so step by step we shall attain our goals.

Justas Paleckis also believes that if there is a wish one might find a paragraph in the rules of the Soviet Communist Party that would allow the resolutions of the Lithuanian communists, but this will hardly be done.

On cultural situation in Lithuanian, Justas Paleckis noted that end shuld be put to its ideologization and that much had been done in this direction already in the recent years. Orientation toward human, moral and national values became an undeniable principle of cultural policy pursued by the Lithuanian Communist Party.

A Moscow journalist asked Justas Paleckis why the Congress replaced the so commonly used word "comrade" with "respected." The answer was that until recently called by the word friend were people who did not deserve the word human being. Therefore, this form of address causes too many unpleasant associations so that Lithuanian communists preferred a more acceptable "respected."

Commenting the drive of the Lithuanian Communist Party for an independent Lithuanian state, Justas Paleckis said that in democratic countries people were united by a community of interest and not by an army or a united party. He did not refute the possibility that in the future Lithuania might voluntarily join some interstate alliance after it has gained full sovereignty.

One more question that was (?not been) answered but presented certain interest: is it a fact that the predecessor of Justas Paleckis, the Central Committee Secretary for Ideology, Valerionas Baltrunas, went back to Moscow? Before he took the post in the Lithuanian Communist Party Valerionas Baltrunas worked in the apparatus of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. This allegation was neither confirmed nor denied.

Questions were showered upon the newly elected Central Committee Secretary for Economy and Social Issues, Kestutis Glaveckas. He pointed out that from now on the party would not interfere into economic matters and would pursue economic policy through its representatives in the government. Economic situation in Lithuania was described as problematic and deteriorating. Next year unemployment will be imminent. Kestutis Glaveckas made a forecast that in Vilnius along from 10 to 15,000 people were likely to lose jobs, and what is more, this phenomenon in Lithuania alas will have no advantage inherent in developed countries

where unemployment is a stimulus for healthy competition and conscientious work. But this cannot happen in Lithuania, having in mind our miserable wages.

Kestutis Glaveckis said that the program to curb growing inflation was to be submitted shortly. This program is modelled after the experience of other countries, Hungary including. The Hungarian example indicates that in the nearest future anti-inflation measures will determine still lower living standards but are near enough today's. Kestitus Glaveckas said Lithuania still had at least scarce (?diamond) resources stock so the situation was still manageable. High stakes are placed on economic and trade relations with foreign countries, both East and West. Introduction of local currency might also be a way out of the crisis.

At the end of the prss conference both secretaries, Justas Paleckis and Kestutis Glaveckas, were presented with long-play records of Christmas carols. One record was played on the spot so that the press conference of the newly elected Central Committee secretaries ended with sacred music (?melody).

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

LD2512174189 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Today's meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet unanimously supported the address of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies to Soviet citizens.

The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet expressed the hope that workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, all citizens of the Russian Federation will be forging ahead along the road of socialist renewal started by the party and will be decisively implementing the reforms on all directions.

The Presidium meeting discussed preparation for the election of people's deputies of the Russian Federation and local soviets of people's deputies in the Chita and Yaroslavl regions.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet endorsed the regulations about the provisional committee for combatting crime in the Russian Federation and adopted a decree on the regulation of prices of commodities and services manufactured and provided by cooperatives to the population and organisations, and discussed other questions of state affairs.

The meeting was presided over by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

Voronin Chairs Meeting on Rights Restoration

LD2612054289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 December, (TASS)—A meeting of a government commission, formed in accordance with a USSR Supreme Soviet decision for resolving practical questions, connected with the restoration of the rights of Soviet Germans and the Crimean Tatar people, took place today under the chairmanship of First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Lev Voronin.

The meeting discussed in detail questions of preparing immediate measures of an organizational, socio-economic and legal nature to restore justice vis-a-vis Soviet Germans and Crimean Tatars, who were forcibly resettled from the places of their traditional residence during the years of the Stalinist repressions.

It was stressed that it is necessary to proceed from the principle of the voluntary nature of the return to their historic homelands. It is fundamentally important that this should be carried out in stages, taking into account the situation that has arisen in reality and the creation of new jobs and housing-and-social conditions. At the same time, the possibility must be ruled out of the interests of the population living on the territory of the Crimea and of the former autonomous region of Volga Germans being infringed.

The appropriate instructions have been given to the Russian Socialist Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the central economic departments.

Moscow Gorkom Presents Election Platform

PM2112140389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Real Deeds Needed"]

[Text] A Moscow CPSU City Committee [Gorkom] Plenum on 20 December approved the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's political platform for the elections of republic and local soviet people's deputies.

We have reached a historic point, the document notes. The question is this: Either we advance on the basis of newly acquired experience or we will be rejected. The desire for political stability and long-awaited changes in the economic and social spheres are becoming increasingly evident in society. Today people expect every Communist to provide real deeds not fine promises and leaders of every rank to offer balanced decisions, not political ambitions.

The document sets out the Moscow Gorkom's specific stance on all the most important questions of society's development. The Moscow Gorkom's theses are aimed at the further deepening of perestroyka, the consistent

implementation of the political and economic reforms, democratization, and the broadening of glasnost. The Moscow Gorkom advocates that Moscow's rights as the capital city be defined in law for the purpose of expanding the Moscow city soviet's powers in resolving social problems on the basis of economic accountability.

The Moscow party gorkom has appealed to all like-minded people and to those who disagree with it or are still undecided to rise above emotions and make a conscious choice and vote for Communists and nonparty people and people who are competent, resourceful, principled, and concerned about the capital's future.

A Moscow CPSU Gorkom commission has been formed to implement nationalities policy and international ties.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the plenum's work.

New Estonian Ministers Appointed, Announced

LD2312201189 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet met today and adopted a resolution to continue the 13th session of the Supreme Soviet on 27 December. The agenda was discussed.

The decree "On the reshaping of the system of top bodies of the Estonian SSR state administration" of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme soviet was adopted. Presidium decrees appointed Tiit Jarve to be Estonian SSR Minister of State, Jaak Kaarma as Minister of Culture, Juhan Sillasta as Minister of Social Issues, Tiit Nuudi as Minister of the Environment, and Tiit Vahi as Minister of Transport. [passage omitted]

Moldavian Commission To Help Romania Begins Work

LD2312185689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1412 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Dec—TASS correspondent Dmitriy Chubashenko reports:

The governmental commission for helping the fraternal Romanian people has started work in Soviet Moldavia. It is headed by Mikhail Platon, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

The first sitting of the commission took place in Kishinev today. It was stressed that the inhabitants of Moldavia decisively support the just work of the Romanian people and nourish traditional feelings of friendship toward them. Reports being received from neighboring countries saying that as a result of the events of recent days there are numerous casualties there evince sympathy in the republic and the ardent aspiration to give them the maximum possible operative and specific help.

In connection with this the tasks for giving such help were formulated at the sitting. Operative groups for various sectors of activity headed by the leaders of ministries and departments were set up.

Great tasks are placed on the medical services. It is expected that wounded from Romania will arrive in the republic in the near future. Places for their reception are being prepared by the Ministry of Public Health in the medical establishments of the republic's towns and rayons, and multi-skilled teams of doctors ready to help both on the territory of Moldavia as well as in Romania are being created.

Points for the reception of blood donations, foodstuffs, and clothes from the population are being opened. Work on the formation of the first convoy for transporting the most essential items to Romania has begun.

Special accounts into which individual citizens, as well as enterprises, establishments, and public organizations can pay money for helping the Romanian people are being opened at bank branches.

If relatives of the republic's citizens, among whom there may also be wounded, arrive in Moldavia from Romania, special attention will be shown to them. Residents of Moldavia who have relatives in the neighboring country and who have expressed fears about their fate will be provided with the necessary information at the very first opportunity.

First Secretary Elected in Ukraine's Zhitomir Obkom

LD2012112989 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] A plenary session of the Zhitomir Party Obkom has been held. It tackled an organizational question.

The plenum released Kavun from the duties of first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum elected Fedorov as first secretary of the Zhitomir Obkom. Until now he was a sector head at the department of of party construction and cadre work of the CPSU Central Commitee.

Catholic, Uniate Church Problems in Ukraine Viewed

LD2712101289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report over video by Television Commentator V. Lyashko]

[Text] The cathedral of the Holy Resurrection in Ivano-Frankovsk: Last Wednesday an attempt was made here by adherents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to seize this orthodox place of worship. Events developed just like on 29 October in Lvov, when the Church of the Transfiguration was seized. During a service in the church a group of Greek Catholics gathered who refused to leave the cathedral, and it was only later in the evening that the church was freed. Since then, as you can see, the

cathedral has been closed, and passions have been running high around it. Archbishop Makariy of Ivano-Frankovsk and Kolomyya, the head of the eparchy, declared a hunger strike, and he has not left the cathedral since last Wednesday.

[Begin Makariy recording] The seizure of the cathedral was very carefully planned by members of the Uniate Church, and long before the event which occurred on 20 December. On that day they planned to hold a gathering of the whole priesthood, to gather together representatives of the Uniate Church from all oblasts of the western Ukraine, and to gather representatives of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Liberation [RUKH] and Memorial, and to compel the priesthood of Ivano-Frankovsk oblast to adopt the Greek Catholic faith. I understood this scheme and I decided that in the name of saving Orthodoxy, in the name of saving the unity of our country, I was forced to embark upon this extreme measure. [end recording]

[Lyashko] Another cathedral—the Cathedral of Saint Yura in Lvov—has been closed for a week already. Ministers of the Lvov-Targovitsa eparchy, fearing the seizure of this most celebrated church in the Ukraine, are holding a service here in Cathedral Square. In connection with these events, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church issued a statement in which they condemn the unlawful actions of adherents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In this statement they cite, among other things, such facts as these: On 12 December, as a result of the seizure of the Orthodox Church in Zolochevskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast, by members of the Uniate Church, the priest Vasiliy Bachala died. For the same reason, Iosif Stekhnyy, a priest of the Transfiguration Church in Lvov, is still in the hospital.

In its statement, the Holy Synod calls for the immediate end of all acts of violence, the release of the captured places of worship, and for the provision of freedom of conscience to all, which is guaranteed by the constitution. [video: Crowds outside church, some kneeling in prayer; interior shots of church; interview with archbishop; correspondent outside church in Lvov]

Georgian SSR Drafts Law on Immigration

90US0270B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Nov 89 p 2

[Draft immigration law of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic]

[Text] Land hunger and the current state of the development of the productive forces in the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] are sharply reducing the capacity of the territory, which requires the limitation of the influx of outside population into the republic. In view of the fact that immigration, as a rule, causes destabilization of local labor resources, and as a consequence of the assertion of economic independence (self-financing, self-repayment and such), the emergence of a free labor market will complicate even further the already serious problem of employment of the indigenous population, an appreciable improvement in the control of immigration processes is essential.

For the purpose of regulating the entry of citizens from outside of Georgia and their dispersed settlement on the territory of the republic the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. To invite from outside only personnel for work in the Georgian SSR on exceptional basis by a special decree of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 2. In the event of the necessity to invite personnel from other republics to work, all Georgian SSR enterprises, organizations and establishments (including cooperative and public organizations), regardless of their departmental jurisdiction, are obliged to contribute to a nonbudget account of the ispolkoms [executive committees] of the rayon or city soviets of people's deputies an appropriate monetary amount determined by the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers for each worker invited from outside the republic and each member of his family wishing to move with him.

Article 3. Article 2 of this law does not apply:
1) to persons admitted with rayispolkom and gorispolkom [rayon and city soviet executive committees] permission for seasonal or temporary work;
2) to young specialists from the ranks of permanent residents who have obtained higher, secondary specialized, or vocational-technical education outside the Georgian SSR;
3) to persons elected or appointed by executive authorities of the republic;
4) to representatives of the indigenous population of Georgia who come to the republic from outside;
5) to persons who have exchanged their living space;
6) to persons who have come to the Georgian SSR to be reunited with their family which is permanently resident here.

Article 4. To bestow the preferential right to return to Georgian SSR territory on extended-service servicemen and officers released from the USSR Armed Forces or who enter the reserve after being drafted for military service from Georgian SSR territory.

Article 5. To accord only citizens of the republic the right to acquire accommodation for personal property on Georgian SSR territory.

Article 6. To entrust observation and inspection of immigration processes in Georgia to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Immigration Process Commission.

Article 7. That failure to comply with the requirements stipulated by this law is actionable in accordance with current Georgian SSR legislation.

[Signed] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Tbilisi, 18 November 1989.

Armenian National Movement Calls for Reforms

NC2312121389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Dec 89

["Draft Declaration Concerning the Introduction of Radical Democratic Reforms in Armenia"—from YEREKOYAN YEREVAN 22 December 89]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Dec (ARMENPRES)—To insure wide public discussion of the draft declaration of the Armenian National Movement concerning the introduction of radical democratic reforms in Armenia, Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] L. Ter-Petrosyan, S. Muradyan, H. Stamboltsyan, R. Gazaryan, L. Mnatsakanyan, S. Ogannisyan and others, numbering 12 in all, have asked the editor to publish the draft. Many of our readers have also expressed the desire for the publication of the draft declaration. In deference to them we publish that draft declaration here:

Because the contradictatory processes taking place in the country as a result of the measures being taken for the democratization of the soviet system on the one hand and the reactionary steps taken by forces loyal to the command-administrative method on the other have created a complex situation fraught with the danger of unleashing a massive suppression;

And proceeding from the fact that over the last two years the Armenian people have time and again been subjected to the terrorist actions of the Azerbaijanian leadership and of the Soviet Army, and condoned by the central authorities with the aim of forcibly trampling upon the right of self-determination of the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast;

And being convinced that for the normal development and realization of the national aspirations of the Armenian people secure guaranties are needed which should no longer make its fate dependent on transitory political considerations and on the correlation of antagonistic forces:

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR confirms the need for the introduction of radical democratic reforms in the republic based on universal human values, and on the principles of national self-determination, human rights, and social justice by proclaiming, as a first step, the implementation of the following salient measures:

1. Article 6, giving the leading role to the Communist Party, to be hereby deleted from the republic's constitution. The free operation of diverse public organizations, including the political parties, are permited in Armenia.

2. Complete freedom of speech, press, and conscience is hereby established in the republic, and censorship in art, literature, and social sciences is lifted.

3. All persons persecuted for political reasons are hereby exonerated and are to be compensated for their sufferings.

4. The direct election of the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and of the chairmen of the local soviets of the people's deputies by the people is envisaged. The conjoining of the government and party offices is precluded.

5. Those laws and legislative acts of the USSR which undermine the sovereign rights of the republic shall not be in force within the territory of the Armenian SSR.

6. The disgraceful practice of appointing officials from the center is hereby abolished in Armenia.

Azeri Blockade Disrupts Yerevan Airport Flights

NC2312122689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 Dec 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The periodic blockade organized by Azerbaijan—a blockade which not only is not being condemned, but in effect is being promoted—has again brought about a grave situation at Zvartnots Airport. Because of the fuel shortage, only the Moscow airline is in operation, and only a fraction of scheduled flights are operating. Planes are unable to fly directly to Moscow; instead they fly to one of the nearby airports for refueling on their way to Moscow.

Stepanakert is at the center of everyone's concern. They were able to store some fuel for flights before the blockade, but this supply is also in danger of being depleted.

Earthquake Reported in Tajikistan, No Casualties

LD2612005589 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1700 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] There was an earthquake in the territory of Tajikistan today at 1356 local time. According to information from the Dushanbe seismological station, the epicenter of the earthquake was 35 km southeast of Dushanbe, near Sultanabad village. The earthquake measured 4-5 points at its epicenter and 4- 10 points in Sultanabad. There has been no loss of life or property.

Uzbekistan Party Official Jailed for Bribery

LD2512160989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Court has made public the verdict in the case of Kamalov, former first secretary of the Karakalpak Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan: 15 years' deprivation of liberty.

It is a long period of time, but then the crimes he committed—receiving and offering bribes—are placed

in the serious category by the law, that is, crimes that present a heightened public danger.

Kazakhstan Conference Discusses Nuclear Tests

LD2012235489 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Alma Ata December 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Vodolazov:

Participants in the inter-regional conference of public and labor collectives in Semipalatinsk called today for a quick solution of problems connected with nuclear arms tests on Kazakh territory.

They discussed the elimination of aftereffects of nuclear tests conducted at the Semipalatinsk grounds.

The latter has been used for over 40 years. Its influence on people is evidently negative. However, the Ministry of Defence and other deprtments ignore the demands of Semipalatinsk residents to stop the tests and compensate the damage done to their health, the environment, residential and industrial buildings.

This prompted anti-nuclear moods among regional public, which formed the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement. The movement aims to immediately stop nuclear tests on the Semipalatinsk and Nevada testing grounds by joint efforts of Soviet and U.S. public.

Acknowledging the importance and necessity of tests conducted in the interests of the country's defensive capacity, regional residents do not understand the lack of union and republican health care services' concern over the situation.

Many medical facilities are poorly equipped and the shortage of skillful physicians, medicines and modern diagnostic equipment is felt. It would seem that local authorities must take care of this, first of all. But they hesitate.

The conference decided to demand that the government stop nuclear tests on the grounds, contribute to the improvement of ecological situation in the region, create a modern medical network and promote the development of local social and economic infrastructure.

New Local Industry Minister in Turkmenistan

LD1812190389 Askhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 1 Dec 89, p1

[Summary] By a decree of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dated 30 November, comrade Redzhep Saparov has been appointed minister of local industry of the Turkmen SSR.

Born in 1947, Saparov graduated from the Dzhambul technological institute of the light and food industry as an engineer-economist and a candidate of economic sciences. After graduating he worked in various posts within Turmenistan's light industry system.

In the 1983-1986 period he worked in the administration of affairs of the TSSR Council of Ministers as a senior consultant and rapporteur, and in the 1986-1987 period as chief of Gosplan's light industry department.

Since March 1987 he worked as deputy chairman of the TSSR Gosplan.

Lvov Party Election Campaign Viewed

PM2112141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Drozd under the rubric "We Are Advancing Toward the Elections": "Is It Under Their Own Flag?"]

[Text] Lvov Oblast—**The times return us again and again to Lenin. Not to take cover yet again under the leader's opinion and to spare ourselves from thinking about our complex problems, we are returned to seek advice. It is a case of the political struggle. Apart from the details inherent in its own time it also has principles which are not dependent on the years. You often encounter the following words in Lenin's works: "We must know how to struggle..." Vladimir Ilyich put a lot into these words: the choice of tactics with a consideration for the moment, the limits of compromises in defending the party line, conditions for association and the delimitation of functions, and the ability to determine clearly the frontier beyond which concessions to achieve coordination of actions can turn into betrayal of the party cause. In these cases Lenin specified that before associating we must delimit functions.**

Again, as in the remote past, there is a frontal offensive on the party. Again our opponents are scorning no means, accusing Communists of every sin. For the same purpose: if only to distort and discredit the CPSU's special and dramatic fate, to destroy it morally and render it organizationally powerless, to drive a wedge of distrust and dissent as deep as possible between the party and people. And as a result to remove it from society's political life.

This has already happened. And although everything has its day, it is no accident that you recall what the CPSU has experienced and suffered. Since the nomination of candidate deputies of the republic's Supreme and local soviets the discrediting of the party has been resumed with new strength. Again not only tried and tested methods and means of calumny and slander, but also slogans smelling strongly of the dust of decades have been dragged out into the open. Some speakers (by no means for the sake of originality, of course) are going so far as to say that all the troubles we are now experiencing come from Lenin and that the entire history of our motherland is a complete "blank spot." The real danger of the consequences of attacks on the party was stated most directly at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the Central Committee Address to the people.

Yes, this has already happened. Including before elections of USSR people's deputies. Overt verbal speculation and attempts to show not the birth of democracy but its discrediting.

We have set about renewing our home. The work is proceeding with difficulty and sometimes blunders are revealed in the plan. The alteration is taking time and effort and causing tiredness and irritation: The swift resettlement on which we all pinned so much hope is being deferred. One reason being, incidentally, that instead of the friendly laying of walls and partitions and the provision of interior amenities we are still acting separately. Some people are erecting the walls patiently, brick by brick, correcting the planners' errors without fuss or idle talk, while others flit about, merely reproach people for their blunders, and prevent work.

What draws one's attention? If until recently thunder and lightning were hurled at the party at Lvov meetings, recently criticism has become markedly more measured. Now the angry arrows are directed mostly against Moscow and Kiev. On the other hand there are floods of tears about the plight of the region. And with the subtext that the "center" is to blame for all local needs.

The leaders of the informal associations and some USSR people's deputies seem to vie with each other to support this position. Recently one of them, the writer R. Fedoriv, stated in an interview with the oblast Komsomol newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD that the Lvov region understands perestroyka processes more deeply than almost anyone and is most successful in ridding itself of the nets of conservatism and inertia. And just a little earlier R. Lubkivskiy, leader of the oblast writers' organization, stated without beating about the bush: We shall stick up for party oblast committee [obkom] first secretary Ya. Pogrebnyak against the central press...

Recently almost all informal unions and organizations existing in the republic—the Ukrainian Helsinki Union [UKHS], the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka [RUKH], the T.G. Shevchenko Ukrainian language society, the union of independent Ukrainian youth, the strike committees and associations (too numerous to list)—were united in the Ukrainian Democratic Bloc [DBU]. What would seem to be bad about that? After all, the party is also tirelessly calling for the cohesion of all those who hold dear the fate of perestroyka and is agitating for deputies' seats to be given to the most worthy.

Verbally and in public the forces belonging to the DBU are also in favor of this. But that is verbally and in public. But here is what they dream of among the specially initiated.

They have chosen the following tactic: They are striking at the same spot but each acts under "his own flag." There is no point, they say, in showing the world we are all together. That way we might after all reveal ourselves and thus lose supporters who listen to us at meetings and sincerely believe our speeches. But if someone needs support then we shall immediately bring in the "flying propaganda detachments" or we shall "bang our fists" in support of "our candidates" with an all-Ukrainian strike...

What goals does the DBU keep concealed from people? Why does it recommend to the informal organizations that they maintain the illusion that each is on its own?

The DBU must be given its due: It has elaborated its tactic in detail. Why have they called themselves a bloc? History teaches us that, as one speaker at a meeting in Lvov put it, the time for emotions has passed. It is the turn of political struggle...

What does the DBU intend to fight for and how? (I retain the style—V.D.) "For the Ukraine's withdrawal from the USSR, for private ownership, and free economic activity. But the idea of the bloc is to oppose the communist apparatus" (UKHS). "We must elaborate a tactic for maneuvering between the legal traps of the law on elections" (RUKH). "...The election struggle should not be waged solely under the auspices of RUKH... In Lvov we shall proceed from the premise of several candidates for each electoral okrug. In that case we will be able at any moment to stand down in favor of a particular candidate. For the same reason we shall nominate candidates simultaneously to the Supreme Soviet and to the local soviets (which, incidentally is already being done. And it is mostly representatives of the intelligentsia who are being nominated for the republic's parliament—V.D.). Then if a candidate fails in one of them he will continue work in another" (UKHS). "The strike committee is the fist which will be able to exert constant pressure on the apparatus. We must consider the question of pooling all strike committees into a republican staff which would cooperate closely with RUKH" (the Lvov strike committee). "Our main slogan is: 'Soviets without communists.' We cannot tolerate communists in the bloc" (Ukrainian popular democratic league). "At our meeting with representatives of Poland's 'Solidarity' it emerged that we are 'stressing' political questions while in actual fact we should prove and show that the party apparatus cannot lead the country out of the crisis" (Union of Ukrainian independent youth). "Essentially the elections are a choice: Are you for or against the party? We must not embark on this satanic path of collusion with the communists. It is they who will count the votes, Stalin said (it turns out that where necessary there is no sin in taking even the "leader of all times and peoples" as an ally—V.D.). That is why our task is... to unite on the question of monitoring the actions of 'Stalinist-Suslovite' and 'Khrushchevite-Leninist' ideology" (RUKH). "For people at the plants the RUKH program is incomprehensible and therefore for work in these collectives we are creating an 'independent workers union' which should become a Ukrainian 'Solidarity'" (Independent Workers Union). "The fate of the elections is decided in the countryside. Every milkmaid should know that the CPSU is a criminal organization" (Independent Association of Ukrainian Journalists).

Nor has the DBU forgotten the country's parliamentarians: "In the election campaign it is important to use the prestige of the USSR people's deputies." The DBU has only raised its voice but some people's deputies responded immediately. The writer R. Bratun took the microphone at the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. And not to suggest how to overcome more rapidly the troubles which have afflicted the country. It turns out that Rostislav Andreyevich was most concerned by the disrespect for the trident. With regard to this conclusion R. Bratun stated: "...meetings throughout the Western Ukraine have been and are being held under the sign of Vladimir's trident [presumably reference to symbol of Vladimir II Monomakh, an 11th century prince of Kiev] and these are not the colors of Petlyura or Bandera, they are the colors of the Ukrainian people..."

I realize that the deputies have no time to go into the details of the dispute about the roots of the national symbol or whether it is right that it should be placed next to the ruby-colored badge of a USSR people's deputy. But having leafed through an anthology published in Kiev 4 years ago and presented to me with a dedication from the poet, I found on many pages appeals from Bratun about tridents and about the Bandera supporters which in no way enrich fine literature. So which Bratun are we to believe? These metaphors are even more distressing because R. Bratun is doing quite a lot that is indeed useful and necessary for perestroyka.

Nor does USSR People's Deputy R. Fedoriv particularly strive for accuracy in his formulations in newspaper interviews or on television. It began with Fedoriv, a communist and member of the Lvov party obkom, formed the impression that the inhabitants of the republic's eastern oblasts have not yet felt themselves to be... Ukrainians (?!) It is not only the fate of his compatriots that the writer interprets with such enthusiasm. When, in a recent talk on Lvov television, talk turned to interethnic relations, he also "resolved" with an unusual facility the problem of Nagorno Karabakh: Hand the autonomous oblast over to Armenia, and that will be an end to the matter.

And what about the region's party committees? What is their place in the preelection political struggle? They have all published election platforms. But unfortunately they are still timid and unconvincing in explaining their position to people and are still "embarrassed" to say who is who in the struggle for deputies' seats. After all, the last elections of USSR people's deputies showed that some future parliamentarians acted such a push and irresponsible manner that candidates adhering to realistic positions could only shrug their shoulders... Let us not stoop to the level of the "dealers in empty promises," they say.

There is no need to stoop to that level. In this instance, that is not the point. If some contenders for deputies' seats, before the eyes of all the honest people, laid claim to ideas that did not come from them and had not been earned by them, silence on this point is just as immoral as making impossible promises shrouded in vagueness.

In Lvov Oblast, for instance, some candidates pledged to achieve the status of state park for the Carpathians and Lvov and to return the students from the Army to the lecture rooms, and to discover the source of the sickness among children in Chernovtsy, while nearly all promised an instant solution to the food problem. The authors of these alluring ideas were not in the least embarrased by the fact that, for instance, scientists have long since drawn up proposals on the Carpathians regarding the need to preserve the unique face of Lvov, and were given support during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the city and later by CPSU Central Committee decisions, and that the question of students had already been decided at government level. Apparently moral norms count for nothing, every method is acceptable in seeking to win votes, and the most important thing is to "play the market" and talk penetratingly about pressing problems that you can forget about once the seat has been won, by continuing to shift all the blame for them onto the apparatus...

Of course, not all party committees rely solely on the strength of election programs. Drogobych and Stryy city party committees [gorkoms], Lvovskiy and Kamenko-Bugskiy rayon party committees [raykoms], and many party committees of enterprises and farms in Lvov Oblast are studying people's opinions: whom they would like to see as their deputies to the republic Supreme Soviet and local organs of power. An animated discussion of the moral position of the future deputies has begun in the oblast newspapers in Ternopol, Rovno, and Transcarpathian Oblasts. In Chernovitsy Oblast's Kitsmanskiy Rayon particular attention is being devoted to those who will be voting for the first time. Raykom workers met with the parents of senior grade schoolchildren, students, and young workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] members. There was an open, sincere discussion of what has been achieved, the rayon's prospects for development, and the true nature of the aspirations of the leaders of various informal associations.

Yes, a struggle is a struggle. To choose not only the worthiest, but one's own destiny. Therefore emotions and passions sometimes spill over. And at times facts are distorted. So why, in response to such attacks, do the local media and party committee workers maintain their neutrality? Why, in such troubled times, do they seldom write articles for the press or make speeches for radio and television in which they firmly declare the party position, bring the slanderers and demagogues out into the open, and refute rumors?

Another apparent mistake in the organization of the last elections was that the propaganda efforts of party committees were directed not at demonstrating the bankruptcy of the programs of certain contenders for parliamentary seats, but against the contenders themselves. This naturally gave rise to protests and created the wave of public feeling on the crest of which they rode to their

deputies' seats, furthermore wearing the aura of martyrs and "fighters against the partocracy."

Can it be true, for instance, that Lvov party obkoms and gorkoms do not know the true intentions of the forces that have come together in the DBU, where all the informal organizations operating in Lvov are represented? But apart from exhortations addressed to their leaders, the two party committees' election platforms do not contain the least hint of clear dissociation from them on ideological grounds. In comparison with the constant reminders of targeted programs and the "collection" of reasons for empty stores and unresolved social problems, the obkom's practical actions appear far more modest. In these tense days, when you would think the obkom workers' place was in the primary party organizations and the labor collectives, in the thick of the struggle, the apparatus is busy day and night drawing up various documents. And holding sessions, the number of which shows no sign of declining. Meanwhile statements to the effect that the oblast's party committees and primary organizations have already lost the election struggle go virtually unanswered.

Seeing the position of the party obkom and gorkom in the existing situation, the Communists of the "Elektron" Science and Production Association, at a party aktiv meeting, demanded the early holding of an oblast and city party conference, where they intended to raise the question of confidence in the party committees. This sentiment is shared by party members at certain other major industrial enterprises in the oblast.

But how did the party obkom react? A strict instruction was issued: Do not dare to communicate the decision of the "Elektron" party aktiv to the Communists of the city and oblast.

At Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenums (which PRAVDA has already reported), the Lvov party obkom was sharply criticized for its lack of resolve and lack of consistency of action with regard to nationalist and extremist forces. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee directly indicated the danger from these forces in an appeal to the republic's voters. In particular, it warned: Do not take at face value the election demagoguery of people with an undisguised hunger for power, because history will never forgive us if we allow perestroyka processes to be curtailed and put the cause of socialism in jeopardy. But even after that, as the course of events has shown, people in Lvov did not draw the necessary conclusions. Yet meanwhile the UKHS, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, and other informal organizations which are active here, forming the nucleus of the DBU, make no secret of their intentions: "Our main objective is the Supreme Soviet (of the republic—V.D.); if our people are there, it will make the decisions we need" (RUKH).

Is any comment needed? And after that, how are we to assess the position of Lvov party obkom?

New Roman Catholic Bishop Appointed in Minsk

PM0611122789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Catholic Bishop in Belorussia"]

[Text] Minsk, 2 Nov— The office of apostolic administrator of the Roman Catholic Church's Minsk Eparchy has been reinstated. Doctor of Theology Tadeush Kondrusevich, former abbot of the Franciscan Abbey in Grodno, who was promoted to the rank of bishop by Pope John Paul II, has been appointed to this office. A few days ago the local Catholic cathedral held a service in honor of the new bishop and a solemn mass. They were attended by several thousand parishioners and representatives of the clergy from the Soviet Union and abroad. A mass timed to coincide with this event was also held at the Catholic Church in Minsk's Kalvariyskoye Cemetery.

Interior Ministry Gives Crime Statistics

LD2612184989 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—Between 260,000 and 280,000 crimes in the economic sphere and 300,000 criminals are exposed by Soviet law-enforcement bodies every year. Damage caused by these crimes amounts to more than 250 million roubles. This was reported at a press briefing in the Soviet Interior Ministry today.

An alarming tendency, the briefing was told, is that the degree of organisation is growing, criminals use interregional connections to derive exorbitant unearned incomes. During eleven months of this year more than 7,600 major cases of misappropriation were exposed, which is six per cent more than during the respective period last year. In the first half of 1989, 8,700 people involved in misappropriation as members of organised groups were exposed, which accounts for 19.5 per cent of the total number of people charged with such crimes.

The proliferation of profiteering is becoming especially alarming, the briefing was told. Under conditions when demand for consumer goods cannot be met, the proportions of profiteering are getting out of hand. The degree of organisation is growing in this field too. Profiteers have begun the redivision of spheres of their influence, banking on disproportions in the distribution mechanism. Dangerous organised groups of profiteers dealing in sizable shipments of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods have been exposed in Moscow, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, the Ukraine and other regions of the country.

Eight thousand people have been brought before criminal court since the beginning of this year for their involvement in major speculating deals. Fifteen million rubles worth of goods and valuables have been confiscated.

In order to combat organised crime along the entire line, the briefing was told, the USSR Interior Ministry is taking additional measures to improve ways and methods to expose and investigate organised crime and introduce new tactical forms of interaction between investigation, operational agencies and criminal expert departments.

Bakatin Gives News Conference on Anticrime Fight

LD2312095489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Report on Minister of Internal Affirs Vadim Bakatin and Procurator General Aleksandr Sukharev 22 December news conference—recorded] [Text] Vadim Bakatin, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Prosecutor General Sukharev gave a news conference today even though they had already delivered reports today at the Congress of the People's Deputies session. Well, the journalists' interest reflected the anxiety that exists in our society today over the increase in crime and the state of affairs in the law enforcement bodies. And, it is evidently not by chance that one of the first questions was about Southern Ossetia. There is not enough information.

[Begin recording] [Bakatin] Measures are being taken, and the most important measures, in my view, are being taken by the government of Georgia. The Central Committee of Georgia, relying on the healthy forces in Ossetia itself, whose aim is to neuturalize the actions of the instigators on both sides. When we succeed in this, the situation there will return to normal. If we send in the Internal Troops—as everyone so much wants us to do—we'll merely seal the conflict without solving it.

[Unidentified Reporter] A considerable widening of the powers of the law enforcement bodies is envisaged. But, we all know the strange way that widening of powers is sometimes interpreted in the localities. Sometimes the innocent suffer.

[Bakatin] You remember the decision on resolutely stepping up the fight against crime. I always carry it in my pocket. It instructs the minister of internal affairs and the chairman of the KGB, in accordance with the law, to draw up exceptional measures to intensify the fight against crime. Have you seen those measures? No. And, there can be no exceptional measures in accordance with the law. There is only one kind of measure, measures that conform to the law.

[Sukharev] We have both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy, and the Supreme Court. We are trying to get laws passed as soon as possible which will guarantee the rights of citizens, especially in the legal process, and will extend those rights. As you know, the foundations of the legal system have already been approved. [end recording]

[Announcer] The role of the workers' detachments in supporting the militia, possibilities of curbing the black market economy, the training of cadres—this is a far from complete list of the range of issues raised at this news conference. It ended in a prediction of sorts. Encouraging or not, judge for yourselves.

[Begin Bakatin recording] Objectively, as long as we have this disproportionate development and all these tensions, the crime rate will go on increasing, that's quite true. How far it will go is difficult for me to say. We have distributed our projection to all the deputies. Projections, by the way, are a very weak point in our work. That's a separate subject. We have no projections, yet we need a good, scientific projection. Since we do not have it, I can't tell you how far it will go. But, this peak that has occurred—this 33-34% this year—I do not think we will have that in 1990. It will be less. [end recording]

'Poison Pen' Letter Sent To Novy Uzen Russians

90US0197A Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by TRUD correspondent O. Kvyatkovskiy: "Poisonous Pen" under the rubric: "Mini-Interview"]

[Text] After the severe shock of last summer the citizens of Novy Uzen were trying to restore trust among the people. But one day almost every Russian family that lived in the village Uzen near the station found some notes in their mail boxes. The notes demanded that they immediately move away from the station or their children would suffer.

"One must do justice to the addressees," said senior deputy procurator of Novy Uzen E. Salibekov. "They thoroughly examined the notes and compared them. And they realized that they were written by a literate person who knew Russian well. And to some people even the handwriting seemed familiar."

Their assumptions were proven true by the officials of the Committee for State Security. They conducted a quick investigation and identified the instigator. And an expert evaluation provided another proof of the fact that the poison pen had been used by the manager of the Uzen housing complex. She tried to dodge the issue, but soon she confessed.

That woman tried to use for her selfish purposes the aggravation of relations between nationalities which is our mutual pain. Why did she do that? Only to avenge herself on her neighbors for not letting her family live on unearned income, as was happening recently.

Here is just one fact. Recently in that woman's house they found several dozen kg of sturgeon. It was known in the village before that you could always find valuable fish in her house. But this time her husband had to pay quite a considerable fine for poaching.

Criminal proceedings have been started against the instigating woman.

9 Dec CPSU Plenum Documents Published as Brochure

PM2112140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Brochure Published"]

[Text] The Poliitcal Literature Publishing House has published the brochure "Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 9 December 1989." It contains the reports by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Questions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies" and "On the Formation of the CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau," the plenum resolutions on these questions, and some other documents. The CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Soviet people is also published in it.

MOSCOW NEWS Journalists Urge Action by Union

PM1912165289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 50, 10 Dec 89 p 2

[Letter "adopted by the general assembly of MOSCOW NEWS journalists": "To the Secretariat of the USSR Journalists Union"]

[Text] In recent times, contrary to the policy of glasnost, publishers and other agencies, supervising the press in this country, have been repeatedly trying to remove members of our Union from their posts. The number of such instances is growing nationwide.

As journalists, we are looking forward to the USSR Supreme Soviet passing the Law on the Press. Yet we are afraid that before the Law comes into force some of our comrades standing firm for perestroyka may fall victim to lawlessness. As far as we can remember the present Secretariat of the USSR Journalists Union has never spoken out in public to defend its members, however badly they needed defence. While in the past such an amorphous position of the Secretariat was taken for granted, now we see it as unacceptable. Questions arise as to the efficacy of the present Secretariat.

In case the Secretariat of the USSR Journalists Union continues to be silent we shall have to express our lack of faith in it.

Controversial Figure To Head Taganka Theater

PM1912162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent O. Svistunova report: "Return to Taganka"]

[Text] It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that the whole history of Moscow's Taganka Theater—from its beginnings to the present day—is bound up with the name of Yuriy Petrovich Lyubimov, although the career of the artiste himself has suffered many setbacks. Incidentally, this is widely known. Now we have had a report which will please everyone who values art and justice: The maestro is once more at the head of the theater he created.

At a general meeting of the collective Yu. Lyubimov was unanimously elected artistic leader. He was handed the reins of control by Nikolay Gubenko—the current USSR minister of culture, who, however, has not left his beloved company. He intends to combine his high state duties with his acting commitments.

What are the Taganka leader's plans? They are wide ranging and linked not just with this creative collective. In the next 18 months Yuriy Petrovich will have to carry out contracts signed abroad. And at the same time, the producer will be working on new productions in Moscow. Here his ideas will mainly be applied to Soviet and Russian classics. He wants to stage a production of Pasternak. Currently Yu. Lyubimov is completing work on a revival of Dostoyevskiy's *Crime and Punishment* with script by D. Borovskiy and music by E. Denisov.

First Annual Report on Environment Issued

LD2312203689 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—The USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation has launched the publication of annual reports on the state of the natural environment in the Soviet Union.

The first national report on the state of the environment in the USSR in 1988 has been prepared and published, Valentin Sokolovskiy, first deputy chairman of the committee, told a news conference here today.

The document is intended not only for the people of the USSR but also for appropriate international organisations.

The report presents for the first time systematised data on the quality of the environment, trends of its changes, the state of the environment, trends of its changes, the state of natural resources and factors that influence them.

It considers a state policy aimed at radically reorganising nature conservation activities in the country, gives detailed characteristics of regional ecological problems, and covers many other topical issues in this field.

The publication of such documents will make it possible not only regularly to inform the public of the ecological situation in the country but also to determine the effectiveness of measures being taken to improve the environment, Sokolovskiy said.

Tyumen Communists Confer on Election Tactics

PM0612153389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Perepletkin report under the general heading "Election Campaign Under Way": "Program of Consolidation"]

[Text] Tyumen—A meeting of the party and soviet leaders of autonomous okrugs, cities, and rayons has been held at the Tyumen CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom]. The subject discussed was the forthcoming elections to republic and local soviets. The aim was to work out integrated tactics.

It was stated at the session that a power struggle is under way; this is a reality of our life and demands resolute steps and constant activeness. The last elections to the country's Supreme Soviet quite clearly demonstrated the futility of the position of impassive observer, and therefore the thesis of noninterference by party organizations in the election campaign should be considered fundamentally wrong. Each Communist must choose a firm and aggressive line of behavior. Naturally, this means actions which strictly observe all constitutional demands.

The remarks and questions at the meeting from executive committee chairmen and party committee secretaries from the oil- and gas-rich North and the oblast's agricultural zone showed their concern about whether the mistakes of the last elections would be repeated and whether Communists would "miss out" on the most important aspects of the campaign. Thus, CPSU members should work far more productively with people in neighborhoods, at their places of residence. They should arrange more intensive contacts with informals and various social organizations, and consolidate with them on a positive basis.

In connection with the elections the Tyumen Communists' platform has already been published in the local press. The conference participants have now approved the text of the CPSU obkom appeal to voters, which states quite definitely each party member's intention to campaign to ensure that the most worthy representatives are nominated to organs of power.

Baklanov Attends Zelenogradskiy Raykom Plenum

PM0612161389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Zelenograd, with its great concentration of brainpower and many leading electronics sector scientific research institutes and plants, plays a special role in the progress of Soviet electronics. This role was noted in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on urgent measures to accelerate the development of the electronics industry adopted 18 months ago.

Progress in implementing the resolution was the subject of discussion at a plenum of the Zelenogradskiy Rayon CPSU Committee [raykom] held on 5 December. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2053' Launched 27 Dec

LD2712111389 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—The Soviet Union launched another satellite, the Cosmos-2053, into orbit with a Tsiklon booster rocket. It will continue space explorations.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:
Initital period of revolution—95.2 minutes,
Apogee—548 kilometers,
Perigee—527 kilometers,
Orbital inclination—73.6 degrees.

Equipment is operating normally.

'Mir' Orbital Station Performance Updated

LD2612140689 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

The 16th week of Aleksandr Viktorenko's and Aleksandr Serebrov's orbital flight is drawing to a close.

The crew will install a new set of storage batteries, brought by the Progress M-2 freight spaceship, and replace separate automatic elements in the power supply system today, in accordance with the Mir station maintenance programme.

While unloading the freight vehicle, the cosmonauts continue implementing the scientific part of the flight's programme. Zinc oxide monocrystals are to be obtained on the gallar unit in conditions of microgravitation through smelting.

The freight spaceship brought scientific equipment, made in the United States and designed, in accordance with a commercial agreement, for space biotechnological experiments. The cosmonauts switched on the equipment ofn December 23.

Biotechnological experiments under the Soviet scientific research programme began the same day.

According to the telemetric information and the crew's reports, all systems aboard the Mir complex are funcitoning normally.

The work in the near-earth orbit is proceeding according to schedule.

'Progress M-2' Carries U.S. Experiment

LD?312102289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] As you know, comrades, on Wednesday Progress M-2, the second cargo spacecraft of a new series, was launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome. The list of the main cargoes that will be delivered to the orbiting complex is known to us from the flights of other Progress craft: Water, foodstuffs, air, fuel, film and photographic materials, and instruments. But there is also something new: aboard the craft is a comparatively small U.S. installation for growing protein crystals. Thus, for the first time since the summer of 1975, when the "Soyuz-Apollo" experimental program was put into effect, space cooperation between the two countries was resumed.

True, at that time the flight was for the most part tackling tasks of detente rather than of science and commerce. Now however, business relations predominate. The Soviet side receives hard currency for putting the U.S. equipment into space and for subsequent experiments in space. After the flight, the container with the equipment will be returned to the U.S. company Payload Systems, which built it.

Let us note that, for the time being, the U.S. Congress has not lifted the embargo on the export of state-of-the-art technologies with regard to the Soviet Union. And even though many U.S. businessmen would like to make use of Soviet space facilities on a mutually advantageous basis for resolving the tasks of their firms, Payload Systems, is for the time being the only company that has received an export licence.

New Center Seeks Scientific, Technological Progress

LD2212115489 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—A new Soviet Centre of Social Strategic Studies (CSSS), set up in December, has been asked to prepare a new concept for scientific and technological progress, Director Anatoliy Antonov told TASS.

"We want to see which Soviet industries need advanced technology and incentives to promote scientific and technological progress," he said.

"The centre will employ the services of leading Soviet lawyers, historians, philosophers, social psychologists and other experts."

The CSSS is a new Soviet think tank, Antonov said.

The CSSS will help Soviet and party bodies and other agencies to prepare alternative economic and social programmes and will analyse bills and legislations.

The centre is now working on a concept for scientific and technological progress, property-ownership in the Soviet Union and ways of settling ethnic conflicts.

It also will make economic and political forecasts.

Military

Sunken Sub 'Komsomolets' Checked for Radiation

LD2412215889 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Measurements in the waters near the *Komsomolets* Soviet submarine which sank on April 7, killing 42 of its 69 crew members registered no heat emission from the vessel's reactor and showed that radiation levels were normal at 20 micro roentgen per hour, the major Soviet weekend news cast Sem Dney [Seven Days—FBIS] said on Sunday.

The Soviet Union used its *Mir-1* and *Mir-2* mini-submarines to prove that the reactor on board the *Komsomolets* had been shut down and sealed, it said.

The sunken submarine was detected at the depth of 1,685 meters after the second attempt. Its hull is covered by two meters of silt. The two mini-subs were unable to come close to the Komsomolets because of underwater current. The visibility was also very low.

The crews were not filming above-the-water environment because of rough seas and low-visibility, the report said.

The operation was carried out with the help of the *Academician Mstislav Keldysh* research ship and several Soviet Navy vessels.

Arbatov's Opposition to Aircraft Carriers Hit

PM2212140389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 1st Rank V. Zaborskiy "Rejoinder": "What an Opinion Reflects"]

[Text] In the course of the "Studio 9" program on the television First Channel on 10 December, Academician G.A. Arbatov, juggling with the concept of "defense sufficiency," expressed his negative attitude to the building of aircraft-carrying cruisers for our Navy. Subsequently he repeated the same thesis at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Unfortunately, neither in the television program nor at the Congress was the statement of USSR People's Deputy Arbatov commented on or questioned in any way. It could be that this was because all Soviet citizens who are really concerned about the defense sufficiency of our motherland are only too aware of the longstanding, acute need for this type of ship. It is strange that Academician Arbatov, who as director of the United States and Canada Institute has a relatively good idea about the actual might of the U.S. Navy, does not seem to want to grasp this. This is might which it has no intention of regarding as subject to reduction even now, in the times when military confrontation between the superpowers has begun to diminish.

Unquestionably, every person has a right to his opinion. However, if it is expressed in front of the people, when it influences the shaping of the masses' opinion, it is necessary to feel responsibility for this opinion.

As a naval serviceman, I will cite only one reason in defense of the aircraft-carrying ships. Without them it is not possible today to say the fleets' surface ships and submarines are protected. The fleet costs the state too much to neglect its safety.

Gen Arkhipov Addresses Rear Services Conference

PM2112124589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[Colonel L. Nechayuk report: "Main Attention to People"]

[Text] A conference of the leading personnel of Army and Naval rear service organs has been held. A report was delivered at it by Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services.

The speaker noted that in the current year, despite the complex socioeconomic situation in the country, the task of providing logistical backup for combat training and the work of Army and Navy personnel has ben resolved on the whole. New norms for the supply of property have been brought in. Subsidiary farms and military state farms have made it possible to get by without state supplies for 3 months for meat, 4 months for potatoes and vegetables, and 7 months for eggs. State supplies of milk have been dispensed with altogether.

However, there are still many shortcomings and inadequacies in the activity of rear services organs and in material and technical supply to servicemen and their family members. The quality of trade, consumer, and medical services is not improving, the material and technical base of rear service organs is growing only slowly, and losses of property are not diminishing.

The conference participants discussed the results of work over the past year, exchanged experience, and clarified the tasks for the coming year.

The leaders of Defense Ministry main and central directorates took part in the conference along with representatives of the USSR People's Control Committee and the Main Military Prosecutor's Office.